VOL. IX. FIFTH SERIES.

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SITE OF CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS

STRATA MARCELLA ABBEY

ELM TREES

STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS . F.R.I.B.A.

RHAYADER . 1890 .

THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF STRATA MARCELLA,
MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.

In May 1890 Mr. Morris Charles Jones, F.S.A., the Hon. Secretary of the Powysland Club, conceived the project of excavating the site of the ruined Abbey of Strata Marcella, situated upon the north bank of the river Severn, a short distance above Pool Quay Weir, and near to the main road leading from Welshpool to Oswestry. In 1871 he published in the *Montgomeryshire Collections* (see vols. iv, v, vi, and x) an account of this Abbey containing much of its history, and he spared no expense nor trouble in collecting the material then available; but it is believed that further documentary matter may be obtained by a careful search at the Record Office; and there are in the muniment room at Wynnstay one or two unpublished charters which it is hoped may some day be printed in the *Arch. Camb.*, when the issue of original documents in our quarterly Journal is resumed.

The author of this paper was invited to inspect the site of the Abbey, and on the 23rd of May 1890 he did so, and the Report which was then prepared appeared in "Archæological Notes and Queries", *Arch. Camb.*, July 1890 (5th Ser., vol. vii, p. 249). At that time not a vestige of the Abbey was visible above ground; the

site was marked by its being called the "Abbey Bank",
and the only traces of any buildings having stood there
were some slight ridges, like terraces, and a central de-
pression, indicating, as it was then assumed, the posi-
tion of the cloister-garth, which the subsequent exca-
vations proved to be correct.

The Report having been submitted to the late Earl
of Powis, upon whose property the Abbey is situated,
he very generously placed half a dozen workmen for a
week at the disposal of Mr. Jones, to enable us to
make a preliminary excavation, which resulted in find-
ing the line of wall near to the two elm-trees marked
upon the plan. This wall we traced for a length of
91 ft., and found that it terminated at its southern
end very near a deep drain which bounded the southern
portion of the site, between it and the river Severn.
Following the wall northwards we came upon another
wall going westwards, and a little further on the found-
ations of a second wall having the same direction.
Between these two walls fragments of encaustic tiles
were found, and there were distinct traces of the bed of
mortar in which the tiles had been laid. Among the
débris pieces of stained glass still retaining traces of
ornament were found.

We had now discovered a portion of the monastic
buildings, and finding that the line of wall was due
north and south, and fairly perfect for a height of from
1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in., we hoped that by following it out
we should eventually come upon the chapter-house and
the east wall of the south transept. In this, however,
we were disappointed. Beyond the point shown in
black upon the plan we failed to find any foundations
in continuation of those we had laid bare, and after
cutting several cross-trenches we did not discover any-
thing further at this point.

Masses of fallen stone on their edges, at the place
marked " probable site of chapter-house" on the plan,
appear to have formed part of a groined roof ; but not
a vestige of groin-moulding or foundations did we find.

Our next efforts were directed to ascertaining the situation of the church, and assuming that the depression in the surface of the ground about the centre of the site, indicated the position of the cloister-garth, a trench was driven northwards, commencing a little south of the dotted line of foundation marked N on plan. We first of all cut through the remains of a thin wall which had been built out of the ruins, and contained fragments of freestone mouldings. This was evidently built at some later period than the dissolution of the Monastery, and may have formed some portion of the farm-buildings and farmhouse which down to the close of the last century had existed on the site, but which had been as completely swept away as the buildings of the Abbey. It was, therefore, no wonder that under such circumstances but little remained to reward our exertions in making out the plan of the monastic build-ings. However, we persevered in our endeavours to find some traces of the church, and a little further on came upon a mass of foundations of considerable thickness, but with no well-defined face; and yet a little further on, in the side of the trench, we discovered a fragment of freestone *in situ* (at A), which when laid bare turned out to be the only perfect base of one of the piers of the nave-arcade as yet discovered. This was a most welcome find. We were now satisfied that the church stood on the north side of the cloister-garth; and this was subsequently proved to be so when on continuing our trench northwards we came upon the line of the north wall, the foundations of which were less disturbed than on the south side.

Our next step was to follow the line of the external face of the north wall, east and west, so as to define the outline of the church in this direction. It re-sulted in our finding the bases of the buttresses *in situ*, and fairly perfect, at the points where shown on the plan in black. Those that are hatched with diagonal lines had disappeared, but by spacing out the intervals carefully their position was fixed, and the six eastward

1²

ones were found to be most exactly divided from centre
to centre ; the four to the westward were a trifle wider
apart, and broader.

The preliminary excavations being finished, it was
determined to make a complete exploration of the
Abbey site, if sufficient funds could be raised, and it
was thought that an expenditure of about £100 would
be enough to clear the surface of the church, and also
what remained of the conventual buildings. A commit-
tee was formed (thanks to the energy of Mr. Morris C.
Jones), and a sum of a little over £75 was actually raised
and expended, as shown in a statement of account
published in *Montgomeryshire Collections,* vol. xxv,
p. 152.

On the 12th of August 1890 work was again com-
menced, and continued until the 8th of October follow-
ing, with the result that the tracing out of the plan of
the church was resumed, and the north-western angle
discovered buried beneath a great accumulation of soil,
and also of the foundations of the west wall. There
were indications of buttresses in the west wall, on the
lines of the nave-arcade, and much clearer indications
of the foundations of the buttresses at the north-
western and south-western angles. At the latter point
the face of a wall, pointing somewhat obliquely in a
southerly direction, was found. The line of the south
wall of the church was excavated eastwards, and no
signs of buttresses could be found, except that at the
point opposite to the pier (A) the foundation was wider
than at the other points where the thickness of the
wall could be defined, and where buttresses were not
likely to exist. At two places in the south wall we
discovered junctions of walls going southwards. The
eastern one of these eventually proved to be the
western boundary of the cloister-garth, and is in all
probability the foundation of the east wall of the *cel-
larium* and *dorter* of the *conversi.*

In excavating the outer face of the north wall east-
wards, a line of wall was discovered turning at right

angles northwards. This has been assumed to be, and
is shown in the plan as, the western wall of the north
transept. At s and s foundations of large flagstones
were found, but no remains of walls. Every trace of
the north transept had been cleared away, and nothing
remained of the eastern portion of the church except
the south-eastern angle of the presbytery, of which
there was a small fragment left, sufficient to show that
it was a portion of a buttress which had escaped the
hands of the spoiler.

This, however, was valuable evidence so far as it
went, as it enabled us to define the probable position
of the presbytery, the central tower, and the north and
south transepts, with some approach to accuracy, and
to indicate the dimensions of the church of the Abbey
of Strata Marcella.

The excavations having proceeded thus far, the next
step was the clearing of the entire surface of the church
to floor-level, provided the funds would admit of our
doing so. Unfortunately there was a difficulty in dis-
posing of the surplus soil, and as the excavations pro-
ceeded westwards the accumulated earth which covered
the foundations became deeper, consequently the actual
space cleared extends only to the dotted line marked P.
Eastward of that line the entire area of the church has
been excavated to the floor-level, and the interesting
fragments of walls, bases of shafts, steps, and piers,
marked A, B, C, D, F, G, L, and M on plan have been dis-
covered.

The discovery of the base of a pier at A has been
previously mentioned. When first uncovered it was
fairly perfect. It is cased with fine red sandstone from
the Shelvock or Grinshill Quarries, near Shrewsbury.
The core was built of rubble-masonry of local stone. It
is quite clear, from the plan of this base, that the nave-
piers of Strata Marcella Abbey Church were of clus-
tered shafts, and fragments of these, of various sizes
and dimensions, were found among the *débris* which
was excavated. Traces of foundations of some of the

other nave-arcade piers were found, but none in such perfect condition as this one ; and it is most fortunate that so much was found intact, as it enables us to judge of the character of the piers when complete, and of the style of architecture of this part of the church, which probably dated from the latter part of the twelfth century to early in the thirteenth.

At B we discovered a portion of the *pulpitum*, the solid stone screen which divided the monks' choir from the choir of the *conversi*, part of the base-moulds of the shafts of the south side of the doorway being quite perfect, and *in situ.* Westwards of this was a large, flat, chamfered stone, in the centre of which was a round hole about 3 or 4 inches in diameter. The total length of the stone is 7 ft. 2 in., and at the end it is still 2 ft. wide; but a portion has been broken away. It appears to have been the base of a monument. To the right of this were some slabs and fragments of foundations, which might indicate the position of one of the altars in the choir of the *conversi.*

Westwards again, at C on plan, was a somewhat similar mass of masonry ; but in addition to the base-mouldings, a short length of the jamb-mouldings remained; and instead of being on the south side of the centre line of the church, this fragment is on the north side. It presents many peculiarities : it has been built upon an inferior and irregular foundation, it does not occupy the original position for which the jamb and base-mouldings were worked, the jamb-mouldings do not fit the bases, and the latter are not continuous.

In the wall itself are fragments of mouldings built in ; and when carefully examined it is seen that this is some later addition to the church. It looks remarkably like a portion of a western doorway inserted when the church was very considerably reduced in length, and at some period in the history of Strata Marcella when the eight western bays of the nave-arcade may have become dilapidated and fallen into

ruins ; not improbably at the time of the destruction
of the Abbey by Owain Glyndwr.

The Chronicle of Adam of Usk thus refers to Glyn-
dwr's raid into Montgomeryshire :—

"In this Autumn Owen Glyndower, all North Wales and
Cardigan and Powis siding with him, sorely harried with fire
and sword the English who dwelt in those parts, and their
towns, and especially the town of Pool."[1]

It is, therefore, more than probable that Strata Mar-
cella shared the fate of Cwmhir Abbey, was burnt and
laid in ruins by Glyndwr, and that the Convent was
never able to restore the church to its original dimen-
sions.

At T were the foundations of a thin wall ; and
at D, still *in situ*, the base of a pilaster or buttress,
probably belonging to the screen separating the western
portion of the nave from the choir of the *conversi*, which
may have been erected at some later period than the
part of the church where it is situated.

Unfortunately so little is left in each of these cases
that it would be presumptuous on my part to state
absolutely the purposes these fragments originally
served, and to what they belonged. I think there can
be no doubt about the *pulpitum* at B ; that is original
masonry *in situ*, and untouched. The base-mouldings of
the south jamb of the entrance-door to the choir are
perfect, and the levels indicate a 4 in. step from the
nave to the level of the floor of the choir.

At L we found a mass of foundations of a wall 5 ft.
3 in. thick, which may be the base of an altar-tomb.
It comes exactly midway between the proper position
of the two piers of the nave-arcade. It seems too thick
for the wall which in some instances divides the aisles
from the nave in Cistercian churches ; a notable in-
stance of which is to be seen at Tintern Abbey, and of
which I also found traces at Strata Florida.

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[1] Chronicle of Adam de Usk, p. 191.

At G another very puzzling piece of masonry was unearthed, the foundations of a thin wall running east and west, and upon it a chamfered and rebated sill-stone, 5 ft. 8 in. long and 9 in. wide. This may be some later introduction; but there it was *in situ*, the top of the sill exactly 1 ft. above the floor of the choir, as ascertained from the door of the *pulpitum*, B.

Eastward of the wall just mentioned, at F, was a fragment of a stone step, which indicated the level of the presbytery floor, being exactly 1 ft. 4 in. above the floor of the choir, which would give four 4-inch steps from choir to presbytery. Here the principal mass of the fragments of the tile-pavements was found; and at K could be traced the foundation walls which had carried the four steps. The front of the first step aligned with the eastern face of the eastern arch of the central tower, assuming the position of this feature to be correctly shown upon the plan. It was here that some
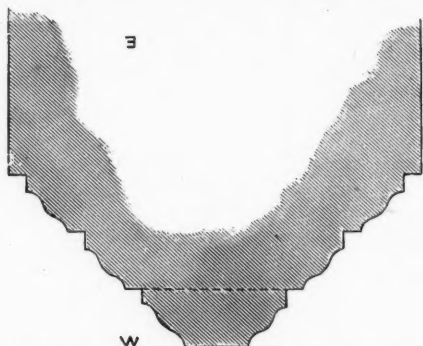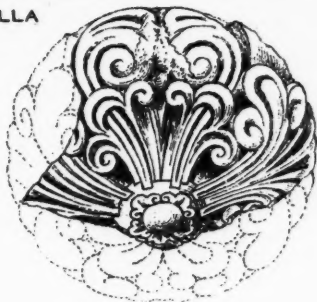

Moulding of Pier of Tower of Chester Cathedral.

large blocks of red sandstone were found, with an exactly similar moulding upon the angles to that of one of the piers of the tower of Chester Cathedral. I, therefore, think there can be no doubt that these formed part of one of the tower-piers.
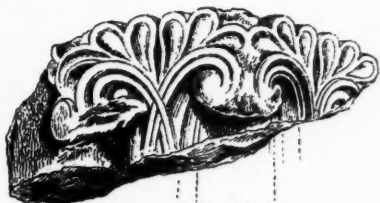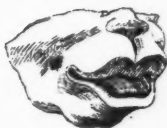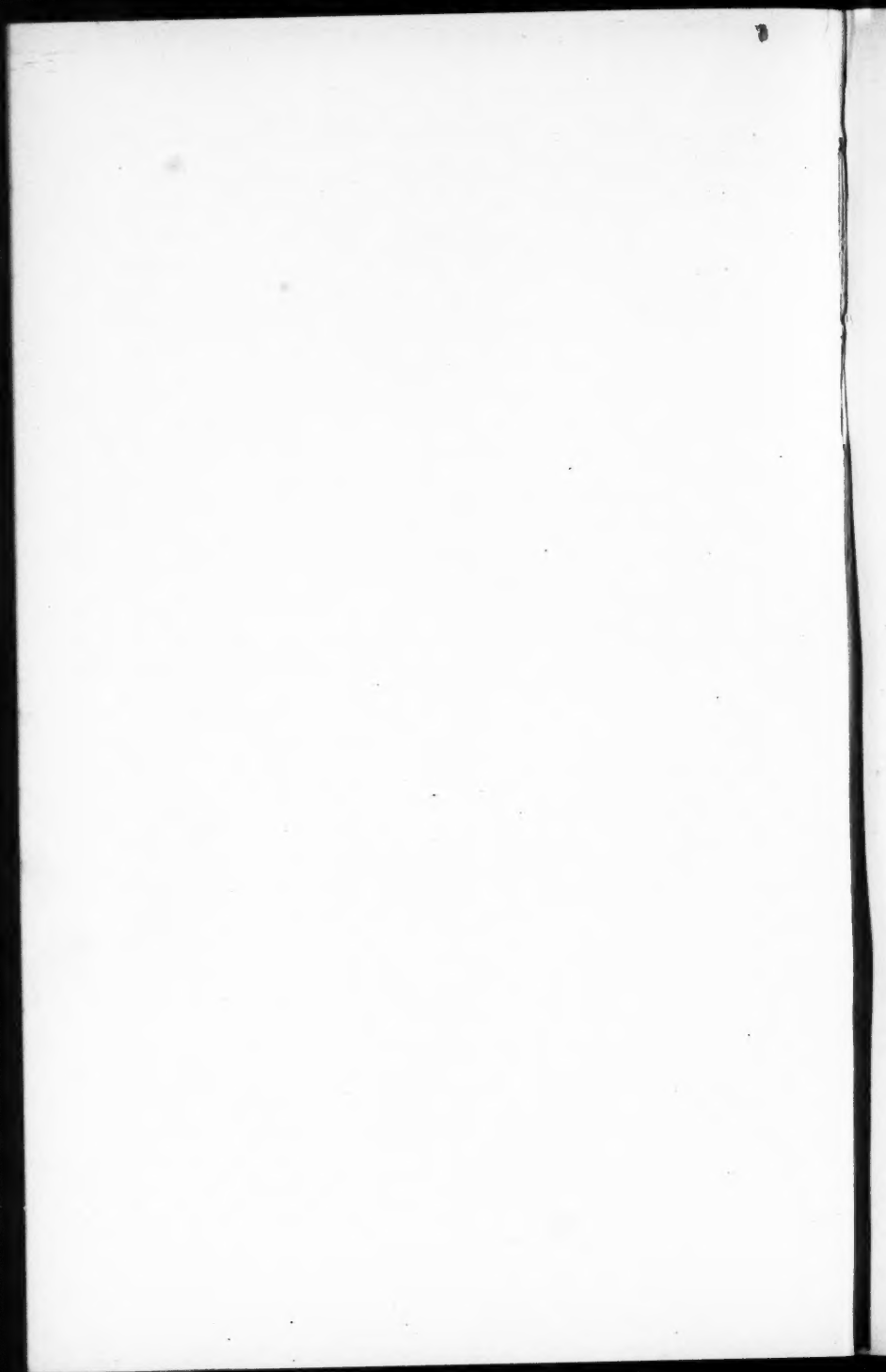
STRATA MARCELLA

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HIC

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No traces of transeptal chapels were found. The entire absence of any lines of foundations in this part of the church renders the plan of the eastern portion somewhat problematical.

At H on plan, Mr. Worthington G. Smith (who drew the plates with which the Report on the excavations in the *Montgomeryshire Collections* is so profusely illustrated) discovered some interments of very young children. This is an exceedingly curious fact. May it not tend to confirm the scandalous reports set forth in the letters of King Edward III to the Abbots of Clairvaux and Citeaux, charging the monks of Strata Marcella with "leading a fearfully dissolute life", and which are quoted in full at pp. 138-141 in vol. v, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, in the paper on the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell (Strata Marcella) by Mr. Morris C. Jones, F.S.A. ?

It certainly does seem extraordinary to find infant interments in a Cistercian Abbey church, and one would be glad to know if anything similar has been observed elsewhere. Quantities of human remains were discovered scattered among the *débris*, but in no case did we light upon an interment *in situ*, except those of the children before described.

With reference to the above, Mr. Worthington G. Smith writes :—"Whilst measuring near the spot (H on plan) I picked up a humerus (upper arm-bone) and femur (thigh-bone) belonging to a child of about six years of age. On looking over the bone-fragments close by, several other infantile humeri and femora came to light ; some broken, eight perfect. On calling the gardener's attention to these small bones, he produced what was to him a remarkable bone. It was the greater part of a child's skull curiously distorted and flattened by *post-mortem* pressure. Skulls of young people are often so distorted. As a garden-fork was at hand, I asked the gardener to carefully loosen some of the surface-soil. On this being done, other infantile interments were seen *in situ*, no infant being over seven

years. The young people were interred with adults,
side by side."

In the presbytery and also on the site of the north
transept a considerable quantity of encaustic and in-
cised tiles were found, and also here and there por-
tions of the mortar-bed in which they were laid.
All the tiles were in fragments, and had been much
disturbed. The patterns and make of the tiles ex-
actly resemble those at Strata Florida, and only two
fresh patterns were found. Both of these are heraldic
tiles. One of them resembled in its device (a chevronel
within a narrow bordure) a similar heraldic tile at
Strata Florida.

The other example is much more interesting, and,
so far as is known at present, peculiar to this Abbey,
the armorial bearings being those of the Le Strange
family. With reference to the Le Strange arms being
found on tiles in this Abbey, we think light will be
thrown upon it by the following sketch-pedigree:

Owen Cyfeiliog, founder of this Abbey=Gwenthlian, dau. of
in 1170, "having taken the habit of   Owen Gwynnedd,
religion, died in 1197, and was buried   Prince of North
at Ystrad Marchell"   Wales

Wenwynwyn, Prince=Margaret, dau. of
of Upper Powys,   Robert Lord Corbet
d. 1218

Griffin ap Wenwynwyn,=Ha wyse, dau. of John Le Strange
Prince of Upper Powys,   d. cir. Nov. 1310
d. cir. 1283

Hawyse, upon the death of her husband, Griffin ap
Wenwynwyn, had for some time the guardianship of
her son, Owen de la Pole, and charge of all his lands.
She held also, as part of her dower, the manor of But-
tington, which is only separated from the site of the
Abbey by the river Severn. Under these circumstances

it is natural to suppose that she was a benefactress to the Abbey, and that her paternal arms, two lions passant, should be found there.

The Seal of Hawyse, the Wife of Griffin ap Wenwynwyn.

The reasons given, we conceive, are sufficient to account for the tiles bearing the Le Strange arms.[1]

Similar tiles to those found were also discovered in the recent excavations at Old St. Chad's Church, Shrewsbury; and we thus trace the same patterns extending from Shropshire into Wales; and there seems little doubt that they were of Salopian manufacture, probably made at or near Broseley; and that many of the patterns were stock-designs in common use at the time. Even in the case of the heraldic tiles, we find the same patterns at places so far apart as Strata Florida and Strata Marcella; and more especially a tile which was largely used at both Abbeys, bearing the arms of the Despencer family, viz., quarterly, *ar.* and *gu.*, in the second and third quarters a fret *or*, over all a bend *sa.* The Despencer arms appear to be ubiquitous in the west, and probably had no local reference. We are not aware that the family had any connection with either of the two places.

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. Morris C. Jones, F.S.A., for the above pedigree and notes upon the Le Strange arms.

These tiles date about the early part of the four-
teenth century, and both the tiles and freestone used
at Strata Marcella would be brought by barges up the
river Severn, which is navigable to Pool Quay, near
the site of the Abbey.

One of the most interesting discoveries we made was
a grave formed of flags set on edge (at the point
marked o on plan), some of which projected slightly
above the turf, showing that the original surface had
here been cleared away and lowered. It occupies the
same position, with reference to the church, as the
monks' graves, with their headstones and covering
slabs, at Strata Florida ; but in that case lying under
something like 8 to 10 ft. of *débris*, which had pre-
served them. It had no cover, and contained only one
small thigh-bone and some broken tiles. The graves
on the site of Old St. Chad's Church, Shrewsbury, are
somewhat similar, but not built with such rough, un-
worked stones.[1]

Between the grave just described and the church the
ground was full of bones, which seemed as if they had
been previously disturbed ; but there was no other
grave or headstone *in situ.*

One headstone was found in the soil removed, bear-
ing upon its face, in relief, a Maltese cross pierced in
the centre with a diamond-shaped ornament. It is
probably of the thirteenth century. A fragment of a
sepulchral slab, inscribed and ornamented, was found
near the south wall of the church ; but the lettering,
with the exception of the word HIC, is illegible. It
is illustrated upon the Plate opposite.

Some of the fragments of carved stonework from
the excavations are shown on the two Plates here
given, which were selected from a large number of
others accompanying the Report in vol. xxv, *Montgom-
eryshire Collections.* The groin-boss (fig. 2) is a frag-
ment of a very fine piece of work, probably of early

[1] *Transactions of Shropshire Archæological Society*, 2nd Series,
vol. ii, p. 367.

STRATA MARCELLA

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
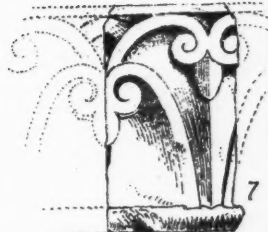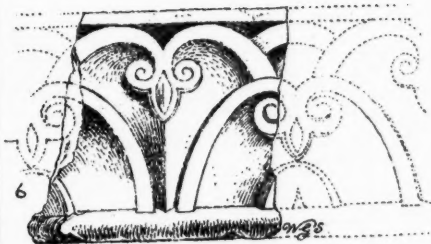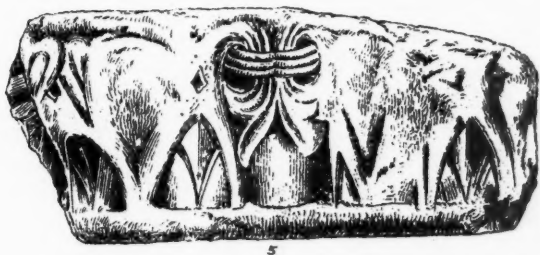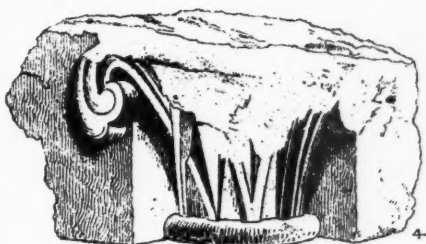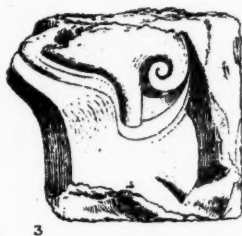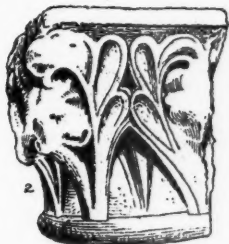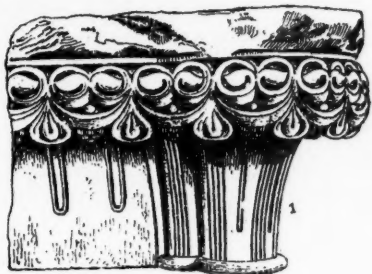
INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 FOOT
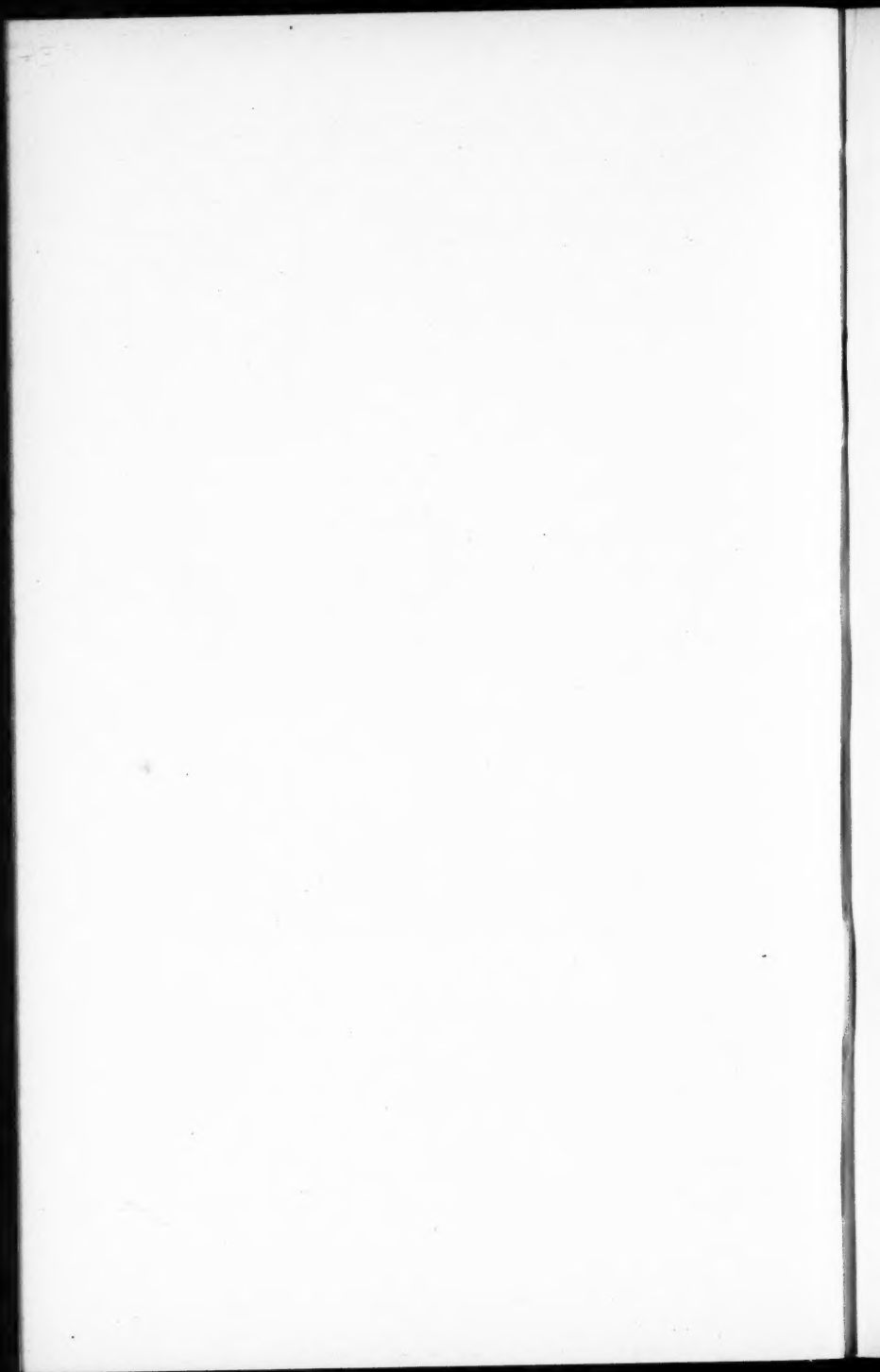
thirteenth century date. Figs. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 12 have all the characteristics of the carving at Strata Florida,—the fleur-de-lis ornament (fig. 12) being constantly repeated there ; and the same remark applies to figs. 3, 5, and 7, upon the second Plate. Fig. 1 upon the second Plate was found at Pool Quay Vicarage, and is now in the Museum of the Powys-land Club. This exquisite specimen of Early English foliage apparently formed part of the capital of a detached shaft carrying the interior arch of a lancet-window. The circular portion had surmounted a slender shaft of quatrefoiled section.

At the same place was also found another fragment of a capital of early Transitional work, dating probably between 1170 and 1190, which apparently had formed part of a doorway, and had surmounted a nook-shaft. (See fig. 4, Plate 2.)

The capital shown on fig. 5 was found some time ago, and removed to the Coppy Farm. It is now in the Welshpool Museum. In this example we see a class of ornament introduced which is peculiarly characteristic of the Strata Florida carving, viz., the banding or looping together of the foliage.

In figs. 6 and 7 we have portions of a flat frieze, probably forming part of the capital of a square pier, of early Transitional work.

The font in Buttington Church is another interesting relic of the Abbey, being formed out of an Early English capital obtained from the ruins of Strata Marcella. It must have surmounted a single, detached shaft, and may have been the central pillar carrying the groined roof of the chapter-house. The sculpture of the capital possesses the peculiar characteristics of the Early English period, viz., with graceful, curling, conventional foliage springing from stiff, vertical stems. It is an extremely fine specimen of stone carving of that date, and a valuable illustration of the beauty of the work at Strata Marcella ; and proves that here, as at Strata Florida, the workmanship displayed was in no way

inferior to that in the finest English abbeys of the same period.

There are a few fragments of capitals still preserved at Cwmhir Abbey, in Radnorshire, survivals of the utter destruction that overtook the once beautiful church. The sculpture upon them is very similar to that on the Buttington font, and they were executed certainly at the same period, and perhaps even by the same workmen.

During the course of the excavations many fragments of stained glass were found, and some in the original leading. Upon one piece there were a few thirteenth century characters. A number of masons' marks were observed, and many of them corresponded with those found at Strata Florida. The men who used such symbols to denote their handiwork upon the dressed stone probably were engaged at both places, as the works, during a long period, must have progressed simultaneously, Rhys ap Gruffydd refounding Strata Florida in 1164, and Owen Cyfeiliog founding Strata Marcella in 1170. In all probability Strata Florida was the sooner completed of the two. There is but little Early English work there, except in the chapter-house, whilst at Strata Marcella it predominates; and of the scanty fragments we have discovered, but little is of the early Transitional type. We, however, get it in the forms of the bases of the buttresses in the north wall, and a somewhat later type in the bases of the shafts of the doorway of the *pulpitum.*

So far as can be ascertained, it would appear that the work done subsequently to the foundation of Strata Marcella Abbey in 1170 must have progressed very slowly, and that the church could not have been finished until seventy or eighty years subsequent to the date of Owen Cyfeiliog's first charter; and it seems, from the fragments we have found, that the nave-arcades were of Early English work, dating about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

With reference to the dimensions of the church, the

following table will enable a comparison to be made with the more important ecclesiastical buildings in Wales :—

Name.	Total Length.	Length of Nave.	Breadth of Nave and Aisles.	Length of Tran-septs including Central Tower.	Breadth of Tran-septs.	Square of Lan-tern, Central Tower.	Length of Choir.	Breadth of Choir.
	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.
Strata Marcella Abbey[1]	273 0	201 0	62 0	96 0	30 0	30 0	72 0	3 0
Strata Floiida Abbey...	213 0	132 6	61 0	117 3	28 0	28 0	52 6	28 0
Cwmhir Abbey[2] ...	—	242 0	69 10	135 8	32 0	--	—	—
St. David's Cathedral[3]	208 10	127 4	51 3	116 0	27. 3	27 0	53 6	30 3
St. Asaph Cathedral ...	—	86 0	68 0	1'8 0	—	29 6	—	—
Bangor Cathedral ...	—	116 0	60 0	96 0	—	—	—	—
Llandaff Cathedral[4] ...	—	107 0	70 0	—	—	—	—	—
Brecon Priory Church	170 0	107 0	34 0	114 0	—	29 0	34 0	29 0
Neath Abbey	—	110 0	—	110 0	—	—	—	—

It will be seen, upon reference to the figures, that in point of length of nave, Strata Marcella takes rank after Cwmhir Abbey, and in other dimensions it exceeds in size most of the great churches of the Principality. I am inclined to think that the original design of the church was shorter, and that the four western bays of the nave-arcade were a later addition. The buttresses on the north wall, opposite the three western piers, are wider than those to the eastward, and are also spaced a little further apart.

The west front of a Cistercian church was generally aligned pretty nearly with the west wall of the *cellarium* and *dorter* of the *conversi*. In this case it extends exactly the length of the four bays westward of that line.

Of the conventual buildings but very little was excavated, and it is to be hoped that these, too, may be thoroughly explored. The expense of doing so would

[1] Some of these dimensions are approximate.
[2] Never completed.
[3] As built by Bishop Peter de Leiâ.
[4] No transepts.

not be great; and it would be most satisfactory if the
remainder of the surface within the walls of the church
was cleared to floor-level, and the site of the cloister-
garth and domestic buildings of the Monastery laid
bare. If this is done, the whole of the surplus soil and
débris should be entirely cleared away. In a short time
the surface would become covered with turf, the found-
ations of the various buildings, piers, buttresses, etc.,
would then be seen just above the surface, and if
fenced in and properly preserved, it would rescue from
oblivion what still remains of one of the great Cister-
cian houses of Wales.

In conclusion let me add that though what has been
already discovered may appear but trifling as compared
with the results of excavations at other monastic ruins
in Wales and elsewhere, it must be remembered that
even the site of Strata Marcella was doubtful, and that
the little that has been done has enabled us to define
the position of the Abbey, and to a large extent recover
the plan and dimensions of its church, which, when it
stood complete in all its beauty, was in all probability
a magnificent specimen of Early English architecture,
and in no way inferior to some of the greater English
monastic churches.

If results so satisfactory have been obtained by ex-
cavating at Strata Marcella, where not a vestige re-
mained above ground of the original structures, how
much more encouraging is the prospect with regard to
other monasteries in Wales ? At Basingwerk, for in-
stance, we have still remaining much of the church and
very considerable remains of the conventual buildings
in very fair preservation. At Talley Abbey, which we
hope to visit next year, the central tower is still stand-
ing; and there will be no difficulty, if permission can
be obtained, in ascertaining, by means of trial-holes
(which, with a small staff of men, might be sunk in a
week), the extent and position of the church and adja-
cent buildings. If this can be done prior to our Annual
Meeting in 1892, it will add much to the interest of

our visit. Whitland, again, the great mother Cistercian Abbey of Wales, may also yield great results if excavated ; and our knowledge of the monastic institutions of Wales can be largely increased by judicious and careful exploration. "Excavation", says *The Times* in a leading article on the 27th of May 1890, "is the modern method and the modern watchword of the scholar. ...... Since 1870, when Dr. Schliemann began his striking career as an excavator, the thing has been reduced to a science, and governments as well as private enthusiasts have taken up the practice of it."

A great work lies before us, and the Cambrian Archæological Association may well in this matter lead the way, and do what it can to encourage every well-directed effort towards exploring and excavating the Welsh monasteries.

STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, F.R.I.B.A.

Rhayader, Sept. 2, 1891.

THE EARLY WELSH MONASTERIES.

BY J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.

(Continued from Vol. viii, p. 276.)

In passing from the Irish to the Welsh Church, the points that are found in the Irish Church, and which, if the two were so closely related, as is usually supposed, traces would be found in the Welsh, are the following :

1. The assent of the chief, as the head of the tribe, to an ecclesiastical establishment being founded on tribal territory.

2. The establishment thus founded being monastical.

3. The division of churches into the mother church and subordinate churches of different degrees.

4. The tribal right of succession to the headship of the mother church.

5. The Church ruled by abbots, not by bishops.

6. The distinction between the tribe of the land and the tribe of the saint.

Although not in name, yet in fact, traces of all these are found in South Wales, and they serve to explain, in some degree, matters that have been sources of great difficulty to writers on Welsh Church history.

We do not find, and it is not to be expected that we should find, in the Welsh laws the same elaborate reference to the position of the Church that we do in the Irish. (1.) For the reasons already stated, the Welsh laws are a code of positive law, not a series of opinions on cases ; and the code deals more with matters as to the relation of the Church and people than of Church government. It is a code for laymen, not for ecclesiastics. (2.) It was made much later, and in the four centuries that separated these laws the Welsh clergy had in some respects become open to Latin influence, and to the idea of the Church being a separate and

superior body to the laity. (3.) The episcopal order had begun to equal, if not supplant, the abbatical order.

In Hywel Dda's law there are three versions of the code, one for each of the three great tribes of Wales ; the one mainly referred to hereafter is the Dimetian, that applicable to South Wales. The text of the Welsh laws, as we have them, is of a much later date than Hywel Dda, the earliest of the existing MSS. not being, it is said, before the twelfth century, and the mention of the law of Rome and the Pope obviously point to interpolations. Some of the manuscript Welsh laws (the *Cyvreithiau Cymru*) are of a still later time, and date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries ; so all we can hope to find are traces of the earlier state of things ; and these traces, overlaid, it is true, by later ideas, are to be found.

1. First as to the assent of the chief of the tribe being required to a church being founded on tribal territory. This is shown by the broad distinction drawn between the rights possessed by a church that was founded with the King's assent, and those of a church not so founded, the King having, in the course of the four centuries, succeeded to the position of the chief. These rights are alluded to in two passages in the Dimetian Code :[1] "If a church be built by the permission of the King within a 'taeog trev' (villein township), and there be a priest offering mass in it, and it be a burying-place, such a 'trev' is to be free thenceforward."

This shows that without the King's (the local ruler) leave the church did not become free from civil rights and liabilities, but remained subject to them. In the same way as in Ireland, it required something more than founding a church (the gift of the chief as representing the tribe as well) to free the land ; that is, to take it from the tribe of the land, and make it ecclesiastical property, the land of the tribe of the saint.

This view is borne out by another passage in the same Code : "Where a church is consecrated in a 'taeog

[1] Bk. ii, c. 22, 7.

2 2

trev' (a villein township), with the permission of the King, a man of that 'trev' (township), who might be a villein ('taeog') in the morning, becomes on that night a free man."[1]

The royal assent to the church being established transfers the township in which the church was situated from the lay tribe to the ecclesiastical tribe ; so the inhabitants become free of the temporal rulers, the tribe of the land, and passed under the control of the tribe of the saint.

This rule as to land applied also to persons, for another passage says : "A clerk who on the day before he receives the tonsure, being the son of a villein ('taeog'), on that night (of his ordination) becomes a free man."[2]

The ordination passed him from the lay tribe to the saint's tribe. To show he had passed he was marked just as a cow or a sheep that passes from one farm to another would be marked at the present day; and this mark, the symbol of property, when applied by the Church, was called tonsure.

These passages show that the mere fact of building a church, or consecrating a church, did not give that church any rights ; that the church, *qua* church, acquired no rights; but that if the ruler consented to the establishment of the church, a transfer of property-rights followed. This being the same principle, the remains of the same idea, that the tribal land and property could only pass by express gift of the chief, and that gift was required before tribal territory passed from the tribe of the land to the tribe of the saint. The passages, it is true, speak of king, not of chief; but at the time the Welsh laws were compiled the chief had become king.

2. While most people will not raise any great objection to this point, the next, that the early Welsh churches were monastical establishments, may excite more controversy. To some extent it is generally ad-

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[1] Bk. ii, c. viii, 28.   [2] *Ib.*

mitted : indeed, it could hardly be denied, with five great monastical establishments in South Wales, that to a very large extent that Church was monastical. The monasteries of Llantwit and Llancarvan existed before the sees of Llandaff, St. David's, or Llanbadarn were even heard of. How far the life at these monasteries corresponded to the modern idea of monastic life is very questionable, but in some way or another all the great religious establishments were originally monasteries. " In Wales (says Montalembert) every diocese had a monastery for its cradle." Some of the Welsh laws, when speaking of the church, clearly point to a monastical church, as, for instance, this passage in the Dimetian Code relating to fighting in churchyards :[1]

"For fighting within the churchyard fourteen pounds are to be paid; if out of the churchyard, in the sanctuary, seven pounds are to be paid. The half of these sums belongs to the abbot if his privilege be judicial, ecclesiastical, and civil ; and the other half belongs to the priest and the canons who shall be there serving God. A similar share shall accrue to the abbot and the canons for any fighting that may take place among the persons who take sanctuary from the priests and the abbot."

This passage goes to prove that when the laws were made the church was monastical, the fine being divided between the head of the monastical house and the members of the house. The passage is also interesting from another point of view, the recognition of a lay abbot presiding over clerics,— a state of things which however foreign to modern ecclesiastical ideas, and strongly opposed to the view of Latin ecclesiastics, would be in strict conformity with the rule of the Celtic Church, where Orders were not in any way an essential qualification for the headship of a monastic establishment. This is shown by the well-known passage in the Welsh laws relating to bishops' houses (" Escobity"), out of the seven bishops' houses mentioned in

[1] Bk. ii, c. vii, 3.

the Dimetian Code,[1] four only were required to have
an ecclesiastical, and three might have a lay head.
This seems to show that the bishops' houses were really
monastical, not episcopal institutions, for a lay bishop
is, so far as we know, neither a Celtic nor Latin func-
tionary.[2]

3. We find among the Welsh Churches the division
into mother and subordinate churches not in so marked
or distinctive degree as among the Irish Churches, yet
sufficiently to show the distinction existed. In the
Welsh laws a difference is made between a mother
church and a church not a mother church. Thus in
the law against fighting in churchyards it is provided :
"A dirw (a fine of twelve kine) is twofold in a church,
if it be a mother church and paramount."[3] Here the
fine was larger than in a church other than a mother
church, i.e., a subordinate church.

Speaking of the bishop's house, the Dimetian Code
says,[4] " Whoever draws blood from an abbot of any one
of those principal seats, the Escobty", the punishment is
greater than for a man who assaulted an abbot not of
the principal church.

Another instance appears in the number of chapelries
that so often are found annexed to some of the larger
Welsh parish churches. In some cases as many as
four were dependent on one church. The term chapel
is rather inaccurate, for it is a word used to de-
scribe a different state of things, and fails to show the
real position of these dependent churches on the prin-
cipal church. It seems more than probable, although
it is difficult to find any direct trace in any account
of the subordination of these churches, that the so-
called chapelries are the representatives of the Irish
Annoit, Dalta, Compariche, and other Celtic subdivi-
sions of churches. Indeed, if it were not too rash

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[1] Bk. ii, c. xxiv.

[2] This is, perhaps, too wide. The Duke of York was hereditary
Bishop of Osnaburgh.

[3] Ib., c. vii, 2.   [4] Ib., c. xxiv, 12.

to attempt another definition of the different Welsh terms, " Llan", " Eglwys", " Capel", " Bettws", it might well be that in some way or other they represent the Welsh equivalents for those different kinds of churches that we know were found in the Irish Celtic Church. No explanation yet given of these terms is completely satisfactory. A careful comparison of the names with the circumstances and history of each locality might probably bring out some evidence to prove this identity. We have been too much inclined to base our explanations on Latin ideas, and try and adapt the meanings to Latin equivalents, instead of referring to the Celtic churches and their divisions as recorded in the Celtic law.

4. So far as I am aware, the Irish rule of succession to the headship of the mother church has no enactment expressly corresponding to it in the Welsh laws, yet some traces of it seem to exist there; for instance, in the distinction drawn in the *Cyvreithiau Cymru*[1] between the property of a bishop and the property of an abbot. In a twelfth century MS. the distinction is thus given : " When a bishop dies, the lord is to have his property, except the dress of the church, its books, its chalices, and its land, because every property without an owner is a waif to the king. From an abbot, however, the lord is to have only his heriot (*ebediw*) ; for when an abbot dies, the community and the canons are to have his property."

This passage shows the distinction, in Welsh ideas, between an abbot and a bishop. The abbot was the head of the religious tribe ; he had no property in the goods ; they belonged to the tribe, and at the death of the abbot went back to the tribe, and could not be alienated.   But the bishop was the king's officer, having property of his own, to which on his death his feudal lord was entitled.   The bishop was subject to a temporal chief, but the temporal chief had no jurisdiction over the tribe of the saint, and still less over the property of the head of that tribe.   As the monastery

[1] Bk. iv, c. i, 27.

had the property, they had probably the right of naming the successor to it.

But although we have no specific law in the Code, the practice seems to establish that some rule of succession similar to that in force in the Irish Church prevailed. In the three great monasteries, Llandaff, St. David's, and Llanbadarn, it is fairly clear that the early abbots were all related to the founder. At Llandaff, Dubricius, the founder, became first Abbot, and the head of the tribe of the saint. Dubricius is said to have been the grandson of Brychan. He was succeeded by Teilo, the great-grandson of Cunedda, as Abbot of Llandaff, and by David, the grandson of Cunedda, in his so-called archiepiscopal functions; more properly in his headship of the tribe of the saint. It is worthy of note that both the successors of Dubricius were taken, not from the Brychan, but the Cunedda family, and the selection could hardly have been accidental. Why precisely it was made is difficult to say ; but it is more than probable the succession came under some of the Celtic rules. The story of the so-called primacy of the Bishop of St. David's is an invention of a later date ; but the headship of the tribe of the saint would have become vacant on Dubricius' retirement, and to that David succeeded.

If the Teilo who was the third Bishop of St. David's is the same person as St. Teilo, the second Bishop of Llandaff, the idea that the Celtic rule of succession prevailed receives strong confirmation ; for David, grandson of Cunedda, was first Abbot of Menevia. At his death Cynog, who was Abbot of Llanbadarn, became Abbot of St. David's ; and on his death, Teilo, great-grandson of Cendig, cousin of David, succeeded, it is said, to the archbishopric, but really to the headship of the tribe of the saint. The fact of the abbacies being kept in the same family seems to point to the existence of some rule of succession for the abbacy of the Welsh monasteries similar to that we find in the Irish Church.

5. It is difficult to point with anything like absolute certainty to the rule of the abbot in Wales as opposed to the rule of the bishop. In the interval between the fifth and tenth centuries (that is between the Irish and Welsh laws as we have them), the inroads the Latin Church had made into Wales had greatly affected the old Celtic element. The Welsh princes had begun to imitate the Latin ideas both in church and state, and the Latin ecclesiastics were wise or crafty enough to take advantage of this as well as of every other circumstance to push forward the ideas of the Latin Church as regards both government and ritual.

That originally the Church in Wales was monastic, ruled over by monks, seems fairly clear ; that the Church in South Wales consisted of some four or five large monasteries is also clear ; even that great champion of Rome, the historian of the monks of the west colony, in speaking of St. David, calls him " the Monk Bishop". It is, however, somewhat doubtful if his episcopal honours are not the creation of a later age. That he was a monk, the head of the monastery, is certain ; that he was a Bishop, in our sense of the term, is very uncertain.

One of the great features of the Celtic Church is the subordinate position the bishops occupied. That this was so in Ireland, the absence of the mention of bishops from the Irish laws makes abundantly clear. In the interval of time between the Irish and Welsh laws the influence of the bishops had been increasing. It had equalled that of the abbots in the different places where abbots and bishops are both mentioned. If the Welsh laws are carefully examined it will be found that the abbots and bishops were on a footing of equality.

It should not be lost sight of that the three great Welsh Saints, the " three blessed visitors", David, Teilo, and Padarn, were all abbots. It is said they were also bishops ; but the person who first made the assertion lived in a later age, and at a time when the idea of a great ecclesiastic was inseparably bound up

with the idea of a bishop. In the Latin Church the
bishop was, in his diocese, supreme. It may well be
that the idea that these three Welsh Saints were
Bishops rests with later biographers, who to do them
honour ascribed to them the highest rank they knew of
in the Church. The story of the consecration of these
three Saints as Bishops is admittedly legendary, and it
is not an unfair inference that the fact of their being
Bishops is of the same nature. If, instead of putting
forward the claim of Menevia to the archbishopric of
South Wales, Giraldus had put forward the claim of
the Monastery of Menevia and its head to rule the
monastic Church of South Wales, both history and evi-
dence would have been more in his favour.

Against this view it will be said that the Celtic
Church in Ireland and Scotland abounded in bishops
(unattached bishops, if such a phrase is permissible) to
a degree that the Welsh Church never knew. It is
always said to be one of the great points of difference
between the Welsh and Irish branches of the Celtic
Church, that Wales never had the number of stray
bishops the other Celtic Churches possessed. A passage
from Haddan and Stubbs' book[1] is usually quoted as
settling the question : "There is", it says, "no trace at
any time, in that country (Wales), of any system
resembling the Irish and Scotch (namely, of govern-
ment by abbots, with bishops as subordinate officers,
discharging episcopal functions, but without jurisdic-
tion), or, indeed, of any other system whatever than
that of a diocesan episcopate."

To this it may be replied that there is no evidence
that David, Teilo, and Padarn, ruled over definite dio-
ceses ; and if this is denied, those who assert they did
may be asked to state what those dioceses were,—a
task of some difficulty when it is remembered it was
not till after the Norman conquest that the limits of the
dioceses of Llandaff and St. David were settled. David,
Teilo, and Padarn, were each the head of great monas-

[1] I, 143.

tic institutions; each has been called a bishop by their
later biographers. But it would be a matter of great
difficulty to say over what districts they or any of them
exercised episcopal jurisdiction in the modern sense of
the term. Rees, in his *Welsh Saints*,[1] states that in the
early Welsh Church it was customary to make the
abbots bishops, and the examples he gives are Paulinus
at Whitland, and Cybi at Caergybi; but there is no
evidence to show that either Paulinus or Cybi were
bishops in our sense of the word, or exercised episcopal
jurisdiction. They were the heads of great monastic
establishments, and as such far more powerful, and of
far greater importance, than any bishop. The *Liber
Landavensis* speaks of Samson, at Llantwit, as a
bishop; but here also Samson is being described by a
Latin writer of later date, who would consider a person
of Samson's importance must of necessity be a bishop;
yet even if Samson was a bishop, he was not consecrated
until he left Wales and went to Dol, according to one
writer, to York according to another.

It is not easy, by direct evidence, to settle the ques-
tion one way or the other, but it adds greatly to the
difficulties of the history of the Celtic Church in Wales
if we accept blindly, and without question, the state-
ments of Latin historians not contemporary with the
subject of their biographies, and whose ideas and ob-
jects were opposed to everything Celtic. If reliance is
to be placed upon tradition, there is the well-known
passage in the *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland ac-
cording to their Different Periods*, a work usually attri-
buted to Tirechan, a Celtic writer of the eighth cen-
tury, who ascribes to a Welsh origin the Irish monas-
teries and monastic system :—" The second order of
saints", he says, " which lasted till 572, were said to
have received a Mass from Bishops David, Gildas, and
Docws"; evidently St. David, the historian Gildas, and
St. Cadoc. They refused the service of women, sepa-
rating them from the monasteries. And if the monastic

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[1] Pp. 182 and 266.

Church in Ireland was really an offshoot of the Welsh monastic Church, it is by a study of the Irish Church that we shall ascertain the real features of the Welsh monasticism.

But tradition does not leave the matter here. St. Finian is said to have renewed and restored the Irish Church. He studied at Menevia and the Welsh monasteries, and returned to Ireland with "certain religious men to gather together people acceptable to the Lord". He was the founder of the celebrated Monastery of Clonard in Meath, the great cradle of Irish monasticism. From it proceeded the twelve apostles of Erin : among them Ciaran, the son of the artificer, the founder of Clonmacnois ; Brendan, the founder of Clonfert ; Columba, the founder of Iona. If it is true, as Irish writers say, that Finian introduced the Welsh monastic customs, and founded Clonfert on the Welsh model, it is but fair to suppose the position of the bishops in the Irish monasteries was the same as the position of the bishops in the Welsh. To all those Irish monasteries ruled over by abbots we find bishops attached, and in a subordinate position ; it is, therefore, a fair inference that the bishops in the Welsh monasteries occupied no other.

What the precise position of an Irish bishop was is well shown by the story of the ordination of Columba. He wanted to be consecrated bishop, and went to the Monastery for that purpose. On asking a monk where the cleric (the expression is noteworthy) was, he was told ploughing in the field. Columba objected to being ordained by a ploughman, and proposed first to test his knowledge. The Bishop having satisfied Columba on this point, he told him what he wanted. The Bishop consented to do it, but by mistake ordained him priest instead of bishop, and a priest Columba remained till his death. The story is said to be a late invention to account for the fact that while a bishop was the highest rank in the Celtic Church, the greatest Celtic Saint was only a priest. Whether true or false it shows the

position the bishop occupied, and that the episcopate was not the highest office in the Celtic Church.

The subordination of the bishop to the abbot was not peculiar to the Irish Church. We find it in the North-umbrian Church. Bede, in his Life of St. Cuthbert, speaking of the Abbey of Lindisfarne, says : " Omnes presbyteri diaconi cantores lectores ceterique gradus ecclesiastici monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam servent"; and speaking, in his Ecclesiastical History,[1] of Columba's great Monastery of Iona, he says : " Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper ab-batem presbyterum cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti". Thus pointing to the rule of an abbot in priest's orders not merely over the monastery itself, but also over the surrounding country.

If, then, in the Irish, Scotch, and English Celtic Churches the abbot and not the bishop was the supe-rior, it is difficult to see why in the most Celtic of all, the Church in Wales, this very characteristic feature should be wanting.

It is true that it is most difficult for us to realise a system where the ecclesiastical head of the district was not the bishop. That such was the system that pre-vailed in the Celtic Church as a whole is clear. The only question is whether the Welsh Celtic Church was an exception to it. The Irish monastic records show clearly that in those establishments inferior monastic functionaries, such as the scribe and others, were some-times bishops. The failure of the writers of the Latin Church to recognise this fact, and the consequent desire to exalt the office of bishop by representing that the ecclesiastical ruler of a district must of necessity be a bishop ruling over a definite diocese, has done more than anything else to produce the confusion and diffi-culties that abound in early Welsh ecclesiastical his-tory.

One other point may be mentioned. It is difficult

[1] Bk. iii, c. v.

at first sight to understand the anger of the writers of the *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Brut y Tywysogion* at the appointment of Bernard as Bishop of St. David's ; but the anger is easily accounted for, and it is only natural, if we consider that it is the expression of rage at the final stroke that did away with the Celtic idea of the rule of the abbot, and substituted the Norman idea of the rule of the bishop. It will be remembered that the see of St. David was becoming part of the hereditary patrimony of the family of Bishop Sulien when the appointment of Bernard did away with that principle, and finally substituted feudal for tribal rule.

6. So far as I am aware, the expressions, "tribe of the land" and "tribe of the saint" do not occur with reference to South Wales, yet they seem to give the key to much of its early ecclesiastical history. At the time when we first get any authentic account of the country, South Wales was in the hands of the descendants of Cunedda. This Prince is said to have had the titles of "Gwledig", "Dux Britanniarum". In some way, it is not very clear what, he held a sort of rule over South Wales. On his death his territory was divided among his sons. Cunedda was one of the stocks of the tribes of South Wales chiefs and South Wales saints. Part of the territory ruled by his son Ceredig was Cardiganshire and a part of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. One of his sons, eleven of his grandsons, and three of his great-grandsons, including St. Teilo, were saints.

When David began to preach he was related to the tribe of the land, the Cunedda family, so that in all places where chiefs of that family reigned he would have much influence, and also with chiefs who, although not actually descendants of Cunedda, were subject to his house. David, through his mother Non, the daughter of Gynyr of Caergawch, would be related to the chiefs of the tribe who ruled the rest of Pembrokeshire. These tribes ruled over what is a greater part of the

modern diocese of St. David, and would be the tribes
of the land. It is usually admitted that Menevia was
the first Monastery David founded, and like the fort in
Derry, given to Columba, the Monastery of Menevia
was the beginning of the tribe of the saint, the Monas-
tery in time becoming the mother church, its abbot the
head of the tribe. From the mother church a series of
monastic establishments were founded, or, to quote
Giraldus, " monasteries were built everywhere". The
tribe of the saint grew and flourished. No less than
nine of St. David's churches are found in Pembroke-
shire. Of the rest, five in Cardiganshire, eight in
Carmarthenshire, eight in Brecon, eight in Radnor,
and one in Glamorgan, making up forty-one churches,
bear his name, and which formed the territory of
the tribe of the saint. Away from this district from
the tribe of the land, from the territory of the Cunedda
family, David's churches do not exist, the tribe of the
saint did not extend. Most of these churches David
never saw nor heard of; but none the less they were
offshoots of his Monastery, portions of the possession of
the tribe of the saint, over which, as head of the Monas-
tery, he ruled as chief. The Monastery is now repre-
sented by the Dean and Chapter, and out of the forty-
one churches the Dean and Chapter still have the right
of presenting to a large number of them.

The dedication of the churches to particular saints
probably came years afterwards; but long before the
dedication they were known as David's churches; that
is, part of the territory of the tribe of the saint.

It will be noticed that these churches lie in groups.
Between the groups the tribe of the saint had no pro-
perty. Its possessions were scattered about among the
possessions of the tribe of the land. After a time it
was felt that what was wanted was some authority to
exercise jurisdiction over the intervening places, or
rather to establish some ecclesiastical jurisdiction over
the territory of the tribe of the land as well as the
tribe of the saint. The idea that was prevalent in Eng-

land and the Latin Church, of a bishop having rule over a definite area, without reference to whom that area belonged, would be one that any ecclesiastic would favour; and in all probability in this way the idea of a diocesan episcopate having jurisdiction over the whole of a defined area would creep in. As intercourse with England increased, as the tribes of Wales became more united,—or, rather, as the country became more national and less tribal,—the idea that the bishop was the ecclesiastical ruler over the kingdom would increase. With the disappearance of tribal rule would disappear the idea of the tribe of the saint, and the rule of the bishop would consequently increase. The ecclesiastical history of South Wales is, therefore, the history, not of a diocese founded by an early saint, but how the old Celtic tribal idea became absorbed into the Latin national diocese. In theory the change took place at a very early date; in practice it was not fully carried out until Llandaff and St. David's had Norman bishops, till Urban and Bernard filled these sees.

One of the most striking, I had almost added unintelligible, features in the history of the early Church in South Wales is the dispute between the Bishops of Llandaff and St. David's as to the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions. In the *Liber Landavensis*[1] is a document said to be a deed of the Saxon King Edgar defining the limits of the diocese of Llandaff. This document is usually ascribed to the year 958. From that time till about 1130 this dispute as to the boundaries of the two sees was almost continuous. The idea of the tribe of the saint throws a light upon these disputes.

The Llandaff claim was at first to certain Teilo churches in what had become the diocese of St. David. As the St. David churches had been offshoots of Menevia, so the Teilo churches were offshoots of Llandaff, part of the possessions of the tribe of St. Teilo. The tribal idea was forgotten as soon as the territorial idea

[1] H. and S., i, 284.

prevailed, and a claim that was at first put forward merely for the Teilo churches, the land of the saint became a claim to the lands as part of the diocese of Llandaff, the existence of which at first was probably neither admitted nor recognised. The original claim was right, in accordance with the old tribal custom. St. David's diocese had included a part of the land of the tribe of St. Teilo; but the modern claim was wrong on the ground on which it was fought ; and the necessity of bolstering up the claim of St. David's to churches that had clearly belonged to the Monastery of Llandaff may have furnished one of the grounds why the Bishop of St. David's put forward and urged so vigorously claims to exercise archiepiscopal rights over South Wales. No one who reads the documents but will be convinced that there is something more than appears on their face, and it is not an unreasonable explanation that Llandaff was originally right in claiming the possessions of the Monastery of St. Teilo, but wrong in claiming the places where they were situated as part of the diocese within the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishops of Llandaff. The dispute furnishes some evidence of the existence in South Wales, whether under the same name or not is immaterial, of the division of property into the tribe of the land and the tribe of the saint.

The points on which the Irish and Welsh laws, so far as referred to in this paper, throw some light on the early Celtic Church, may be thus summarised :—

1. That the original monastic establishments in Ireland and Wales were presided over by an abbot, one of whose officials was in Ireland a bishop ; and there is good reason for inferring that the same was the case in South Wales.

2. These religious establishments founded other colonies over the land of the tribe. These colonies were regarded as the property of the tribe of the saint. The family of the Monastery, the mother house, exercised over them some (it is not clear what) jurisdiction.

3. Later the abbot became the bishop, and exercised his authority as bishop, not as abbot.

4. The bishop exercised authority not merely over the houses that made up the territory of the tribe of the saint, but over the territory in which they were situate ; that is, over the land of the tribe.

5. The bishop became regarded as the territorial lord, the limits of his jurisdiction being the territory of the local chief or king.

6. The bishop became the feudal lord, holding under the Crown, having definite jurisdiction over a defined area, the diocese.

All these stages can be seen in the history of the Church in South Wales. The first is when the monastic churches were originally founded. St. David, St. Teilo, and St. Padarn, when we first see them, were abbots, not bishops. The second stage is reached when the colonies are said to belong to the mother church, and she exercises certain rights over them,—rights that imply some sort of possessory title, as in the dispute between Llandaff and St. David's. The date of the third stage cannot be fixed with certainty, but we find the abbots of St. David and Llandaff gradually becoming far more episcopal in their authority than abbatial. The passage from the *Liber Landavensis* recording Edgar fixing the limits of the diocese of Llandaff marks the next stage. It may be doubtful whether this document is genuine or not; but it shows how the abbatial authority was being merged into the episcopal; becoming not monastical, but territorial. The last stage shows the state of things the Norman conquest brought about. The King appointed his men, his vassals, to exercise his authority over certain defined limits, they doing homage to him, and being his servants ; a system of which Urban and Bernard are the first examples, and whose appointment marks the triumph of the Latin over the Celtic Church in South Wales.

The views put forward in this paper to some extent

explain certain of the difficulties as to the Celtic Church in South Wales, yet it is but right to say that they also suggest others which with the usually received account of the early Welsh Church do not arise. Whatever opinion may be taken of these views, it is fairly certain that to some extent they are correct. The real difficulty with the Welsh Church is to say when did the influence of the Latin Church begin to act on the Celtic, and to what extent did it modify it. Much has to be taken into account before these questions can be answered, even if they can now be satisfactorily answered. One thing should, however, be borne in mind while dealing with questions relating to the Welsh Church, that it is a waste of time and labour to endeavour, by reference to Latin customs and Latin authorities, to settle questions which relate neither to the Latin Church nor Latin Church government.

Treating the Celtic Church and Celtic Church government as distinct from the Latin may result in the destruction of many of our cherished ideas on Church matters and institutions, and tend to make us doubt much we have assumed to be absolute truth. It may necessitate revising some of the history of the early Welsh Church, but it has its compensations. It will give a fresh proof of the wonderful way the Latin Church extirpated rival Churches; it will show us that much which we have been accustomed to regard as of almost apostolic origin was wholly unknown to the early Churches of Western Christendom.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

HELD IN

KERRY, IRELAND,

DURING THE FORTNIGHT COMMENCING AUG. 11, 1891,
EXCURSIONS BEING MADE FROM KILLARNEY,
DINGLE, AND LIMERICK,

BY INVITATION OF, AND JOINTLY WITH, THE ROYAL SOCIETY
OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN RHYS, ESQ., M.A.,

PROFESSOR OF CELTIC AT OXFORD.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS AND EXCURSIONS.

IN response to an invitation from the President and Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, a party of fifty members of the Cambrian Archæological Association visited Ireland, and were present at a joint Meeting of the two Societies held in the County Kerry during the fortnight commencing August 11, 1891. Amongst the Welsh archæologists were Prof. Rhys (President of the Association), the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, F.S.A. (Chairman of the Committee), the Ven. Archdeacon Edmondes (Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter), together with many other members who have achieved distinction in various branches of science, amongst whom may be mentioned the Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, a scholar of European reputation : Mr. Sidney Hartland of Folk-Lore celebrity ; Mr. Stephen Williams, F.R.I.B.A., the explorer of Strata Florida Abbey; Mr. A. W. Moore, M.A., the able projector of *The Manx Notebook ;* and Mr. Worthington G. Smith, F.L.S., whose knowledge of palæolithic implements is only exceeded by his skill as a fungologist. We must not omit, either, to give the names of Mr. T. M. Franklen

and Mr. W. H. Banks, whose indefatigable labours with their photographic cameras have produced such valuable results in preserving a permanent record of the places visited.

The Fellows and Associates of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, who took part in the Meeting, numbered quite one hundred, including such well known and learned archæologists as Lord James Wandesford Butler, D.L. (President); the Rev. Prof. Stokes, D.D. ; Mr. Arthur B. E. Hill, the author of some of the best monographs that have appeared on ancient Irish architecture; Mr. W. F. Wakeman, whose beautiful drawings of Irish antiquities will be more and more highly prized as time goes on, and the objects represented have perished; Dr. William Frazer, M.R.I.A. ; the Rev. D. Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A.; the Rev. G. R. Buick, M.R.I.A., and many more.

The success of the Meeting was so largely due to the admirable arrangements devised and carried out with such care by Mr. Robert Cochrane, M.R.I.A., that the opportunity must not be missed of thanking him, in the name of the Cambrian Archæological Association, for his services.

A special feature in the arrangements prepared for the comfort of the visitors was the issuing (gratis) to every one of an "Illustrated Descriptive Guide to Killarney, West Kerry, Limerick, and other Places of Antiquarian Interest, to be visited in Connection with the Meeting", prepared under the direction of Mr. Cochrane, and containing upwards of 60 pages of letterpress, with numerous illustrations. This Guide was found so useful that it is to be hoped the Committee of our own Association will profit by the experience and endeavour to promote the publication of more extended programmes of the Meetings held in Wales.

On the evening of Monday, the 10th of August, the town of Killarney presented a scene of unusual bustle and excitement consequent on the arrival of the archæologists in full force. The capacity of the hotels was taxed to the uttermost in order to accommodate so many extra guests at the height of the tourist season ; but the arrangements made previously by the Secretary were so excellent that every one was provided for as well as could possibly be wished. The members had quarters allotted to them at several different hotels, as it was quite impossible to find room for them all in one establishment. The Railway Hotel is the largest, and nearest to the Station. Most of the others are situated outside the town, some being two or three miles distant; but this may be considered rather an advantage than otherwise, as the environs of Killarney are infinitely preferable to the town, which has an air of squalor quite out of keeping with the lovely scenery on every side.

· INAUGURAL MEETING, AUGUST 11th.

The inaugural meeting took place in the Town Hall, at Killarney, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Lord James Wandesforde Butler, D.L., took the chair, and opened the proceedings by welcoming the Cambrian Archæological Association to Ireland in a few well-chosen words, which, in the absence of Prof. Rhys, were acknowledged by the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas.

After the business of the election of Fellows of the Irish Society was concluded, two exhibitions of the highest possible interest to lovers of early Christian art-metalwork were made. The first was by the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, P.P., of an ancient Celtic crozier of most beautiful workmanship, the property of the Most Rev. Dr. Coffey, Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe; and the other was by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., of photographs of an ancient Celtic reliquary, or shrine, belonging to Mr. Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A., of Enniskillen.

The crozier was found, in 1867, by a fisherman in the river Laune, not far from the Cathedral of Aghadoe, to which, in all probability, it once belonged. The relic is in a remarkably good state of preservation, and is a finer specimen than any to be found in the collection belonging to the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin. It is of the usual Celtic shape, with a horseshoe-crook at the top, and pointed ferrule at the bottom. The crozier is of bronze, with interlacing beasts and other ornaments characteristic of the ninth or tenth century Irish art chased upon it, and in some cases inlaid with thin sheets of gold. This priceless treasure is kept at the Bishop's Palace at Killarney; but from the reckless way in which it was handled whilst being passed round for inspection at the meeting, its great value and rarity seem to be hardly sufficiently appreciated. Its proper place should, of course, be in the Museum at Dublin. If it cannot be secured for this collection, care should be taken for its better preservation at Killarney, and its exquisitely beautiful details should be illustrated by means of photographs to a large scale.

The shrine was dredged up accidentally by a fisherman from the Lower Erne, in the north-west of Ireland, early in 1891, and is now on loan for exhibition in the Museum at Dublin. It is made of yew-wood covered with bronze plates, and is 7 in. long by 4 in. wide, by 6½ in. high. In shape it resembles the stone-roofed oratories which were erected in the eighth and ninth centuries. The ends of the roof are hipped, not gabled. There was a small bronze box inside the shrine, which possibly once contained a relic; but if so, all trace of it has now disappeared. The shrine is ornamented with bands and raised bosses covered with interlaced work not of

the best period, and probably not older than the eleventh century. Similar shrines are preserved at Monymusk Castle, Aberdeenshire, in the Edinburgh and Copenhagen Museums.

EXCURSION, TUESDAY, AUG. 11TH.

Route.—After the conclusion of the Meeting at the Town Hall the members made an excursion by carriage through Lord Kenmare's demesne to Ross Castle (a mile and a half south-west of Killarney), thence by boat to the Island of Innisfallen, on the Lower Lake (one mile north-west of Ross Castle), afterwards returning by the same route, and proceeding to Muckross Abbey, three miles south of Killarney.

Ross Castle.—Ross Castle is situated a mile and a half south-west of Killarney, on the north side of Ross Island, facing the Lower Lake. Ross Island is really more like a peninsula than an island, as it is only separated from the mainland by a narrow channel cutting through the neck of land between it and the shore. This channel is spanned by a bridge near its western entrance into the Lake, and Ross Castle stands close to it. The Castle is a picturesque, ivy-clad ruin, worth seeing more on account of the beauty of its well-wooded surroundings, and the charming views of the lakes to be obtained from its summit, than for any architectural or historical interest it possesses. The principal feature in the building is a lofty, quadrangular keep of several stories, approached by a circular staircase, rising above a courtyard surrounded by a wall flanked by round towers. It was built by one of the O'Donoghue Ross chieftains in the fourteenth century, and has been much altered and added to subsequently. Ross Castle was the last fortress to hold out against the Parliamentary forces.

Innisfallen.—The island called Innisfallen is situated about three miles west of Killarney, in a straight line, in the middle of the Lower Lake, near its northern end. The island is little more than a quarter of a mile long, and at the north-east extremity are the ruins of the monastery founded by St. Finan the Leper, and of a beautiful little Hiberno-Romanesque church. Here, in the delightful seclusion that the place affords, were compiled the *Annals of Innisfallen*, which Eugene O'Curry places second only to the *Annals of Tighernach*, in order of time and importance, amongst the historic MSS. of this class in the Irish language. Tighernach died in A.D. 1088. The *Annals of Innisfallen* were composed *circa* A.D. 1215 ; but there is good reason to suppose they were commenced two centuries earlier by Maelsuthain O'Cearbhaill (or Mælsoohan O'Carroll), who is styled "Chief Doctor of the Western World" in the entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters* recording his death in A.D. 1009.

A curious note in the *Book of Armagh* (fol. 16bb), written by

Maelsuthain's own hand, in A.D. 1002, in the presence of King Brian Boroimhé,[1] lends colour to the belief that this monarch of Ireland was educated under the care of Maelsuthain. Eugene O'Curry says that "there has always existed in the south of Ireland a tradition that the *Annals of Innisfallen* were originally composed by Maelsuthain. Taking into account the acknowledged learning of O'Carroll, the character of his mind, his own station, and the opportunities offered him by his association with the chief monarch of Erinn, there is certainly no improbability in connecting him with the composition of these *Annals;* and, for my own part, I have no doubt that he was the original projector of them, or that he enlarged the more meagre outlines of the ecclesiastical events kept in the Monastery of Innisfallen, as probably in most others, into a general historical work."[2]

No genuine manuscript copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen* is now to be found in Ireland; but there is one on vellum, of quarto size, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, of which Dr. C. O'Connor gives the following description :—"It contains 57 leaves, of which the three first are considerably damaged, and the fourth partly obliterated. Some leaves are also missing at the beginning. In its present state it first treats of Abraham and the patriarchs down to the sixth, where the title is, 'Hic incipit Regnum Græcorum'. At the end of this leaf another chapter begins thus, 'Hic incipit Sexta Ætas Mundi'. The leaves follow in due order from fol. 9 to the end of fol. 36 ; but unfortunately there are several blanks after this. On the 40th leaf two lines occur in Ogam characters, which have thus been deciphered : 'Nemo honoratur sine nummo, nullus amatur.' The latter part of this valuable MS., from fol. 36, where the division of each page into three columns ceases, and where a leaf is missing, appears to be written in a more recent hand ; so that from inspection it might be argued that the real original ended with the year 1130, and that the remainder was added by different Abbots of Innisfallen."

Innes, who made the catalogue of the Duke of Chandos' library, gives the following particulars about the MS. when it was in that collection: "In the same Chandos library are the *Annals* of Innisfallen and Tighernach. These, indeed, want some leaves at the beginning and elsewhere, and begin only about the time of Alexander the Great; but till St. Patrick's time they treat chiefly of the history of the world. The *Annals of Innisfallen*, in the same library, contain a short account of the history of the world till the year 430, where the author properly begins (at fol. 9) a chronicle of Ireland thus, 'Laogairé Mac Neil regnavit annis xxiv', and thenceforward it contains a short chronicle of Innisfallen to 1318. These three chronicles, the Saltair of Cashel, Tighernach, and Innisfallen, are

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[1] See Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 653, and fac-simile of entry at the end of the book.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

written in the Irish language intermixed with Latin. They were formerly collected, with many other valuable MSS. relating to Ireland, by Sir J. Ware, and came first to the Earl of Clarendon, and then to the Duke of Chandos." The text of the *Annals of Innisfallen* was published in 1814 by Dr. C. O'Connor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres.*

The ruins of the ancient Monastery founded by St. Finan stand near the landing-place, deeply embosomed in the luxuriant foliage which constitutes the chief beauty of the island. The remains are entirely devoid of features of architectural interest, and the arches over the doorways are of the rudest possible description. [1]

A short distance from the Monastery, on the north side, is a remarkably good example of a small Hiberno-Romanesque church, built of pink sandstone sufficiently scarred by the weather to bring out those variations of surface-texture which are the delight of the artist, and yet not sufficiently decayed to have lost all its interest for the archæologist. The plan of the building consists of a single rectangular chamber, 16 ft. long by 11 ft. wide, inside, having walls 2 ft. 9 in. thick. The east and west gable-walls are tolerably perfect, but the north and south walls are hardly more than 4 ft. high at present. The east wall is built right on the edge of the low, rocky shore of the Lake. The only openings in the walls now remaining are a doorway at the west end, and a window at the east end. The doorway is round-headed, 6 ft. high by 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and has two orders of arch-mouldings and a hood-moulding. The arch-stones of the inner order are ornamented with moulded chevrons carved in low relief on the flat, vertical face. The arch-stones of the outer order are ridged like the roof of a house, on both faces, so as to form a zigzag-moulding in two directions. The hood-moulding is ornamented with grotesque beasts' heads, which are seldom, if ever, found in this position in Anglo-Romanesque architecture. The inner order of the jamb is a continuation of the arch, like an architrave round the opening, but is unornamented. The outer order of the jamb has a round column carved on the angle, in imitation of a detached nook-shaft, but more deeply cut in than is usual in Irish work of the period. The east window is round-headed, deeply splayed on the jambs, and having a round arch on the inside, and a square step, and then a roll-moulding on the outside. The window is 5 ft. 6 in. high on the inside, up to the springing of the arch, and 2 ft. 6 in. wide across the splay.

Muckross.—The ruins of Muckross Abbey, or more correctly speaking, of the Friary of Irrelagh, are situated within the demesne

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[1] The late Mr. M. H. Bloxam, in his *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture* eleventh ed., vol. i, p. 38), illustrates one of the doorways, and gives his opinion that the ruins "appear, from their rudeness and peculiarity of construction, to have been those of the original structure founded by St. Finian in the sixth century, and are the earliest monastic remains he has met with " We are unable to agree with Mr. Bloxam's views as to the extreme age of the ruins on Innisfallen.

of Mr. Herbert, on the east side of the Lower Lake, three miles south
of Killarney, and one mile north of the modern house of Muckross.
It must be borne in mind that the Friary churches, which abound
in Ireland, are always miscalled abbeys; and if we follow the cus-
tom of the natives, it is only for the sake of convenience.   An ex-
cellent illustrated account of Muckross Abbey, by the late Mr. (after-
wards Sir) J. H. Parker, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*
for 1864, Part I, p. 418, from which the illustrations here given
have been borrowed, with the permission of Messrs. Parker of
Oxford.
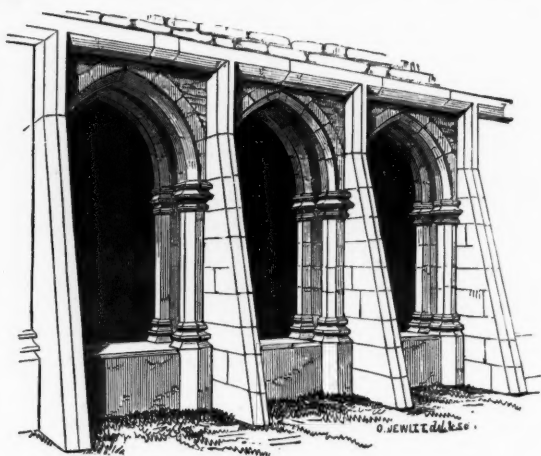
Cloisters, Muckross Abbey.

Mr. Parker says of the architecture of the Irish abbeys : "What
may fairly be called the Irish style of the fifteenth century, evi-
dently made out of the French, English, and Italian styles of the
two previous centuries ; but worked out in so singular a manner,
with mouldings and details peculiar to Ireland, that it is quite en-
titled to rank as the national Irish style."

Muckross is of the same type as most of the other Franciscan
abbeys of Ireland, of which examples were subsequently seen during
the Meeting at Quin, Askeaton, and Adare, all possessing the same
peculiarities in the details of the cloisters, the central towers, and
the tracery of the windows.   The cloisters are arranged round a
square quadrangle; but instead of having a penthouse-roof covering
the ambulatory (as in the English cathedrals), there is an upper
story containing the conventual offices.   A very foreign look is
given to the cloisters by the rows of small pointed arches springing
from double columns.   The walls of the upper story rise perpendi-
cularly above the arcading on all four sides of the quadrangle, shut-

ting out the light to a great extent, and forming a sort of deep,
square well.   The smallness of the apertures between the columns
of the arcading increases the gloom to such an extent that even
when the midday sun is at its brightest, the cloisters are shrouded
in semi-darkness.

At Muckross some beautiful effects of colour are produced by the
green tinge given to such rays of light as are able to pierce through
the branches of a gigantic yew-tree that almost entirely fills up the
quadrangle.

The central towers of the Irish Franciscan abbeys did not form
part of the original design of the building, but were inserted at a
later period.   There being no piers provided for the support of a
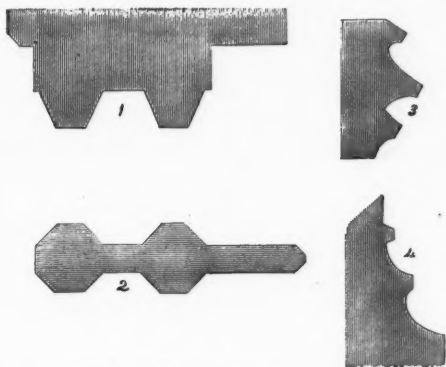
Details of Cloisters, Muckross Abbey.

tower in the original design, massive cross-walls were built for the
purpose within the area of the church, leaving only a narrow open-
ing of great height in the centre, instead of a wide chancel-arch.
The architectural effect of the exterior is thus improved, but only
at the expense of ruining the interior.   The towers are generally
rectangular, and not square.   Their proportions are bad, and the
details poor.   The castellated parapet, made in several steps, and
the flat, projecting stones that take the place of gargoyles, or orna-
mental spouts for throwing off the water from the roof, are features
peculiar to Ireland.   The tracery of the windows consists of vertical
mullions curving off into intersecting arcs of circles at the top.   The
entire absence of cusping makes the whole look bald and unfinished.
The dressings are of hard limestone, which preserves a remarkably
sharp edge for centuries, so that any lack of beauty in the details
becomes very apparent.

The foundation of Muckross Abbey is ascribed by the *Annals of
the Four Masters* to the McCarthys in 1440, on the site of a much
older establishment, and it remained in the possession of the Fran-

ciscan Order until the advent of Cromwell.   The church became
the chief burial-place of the McCarthys, the O'Sullivans, the McGil-
lacuddies, and the O'Donoghues.   In the chancel is the tombstone
of McCarthy Mor, created Earl of Clancarty by Queen Elizabeth.
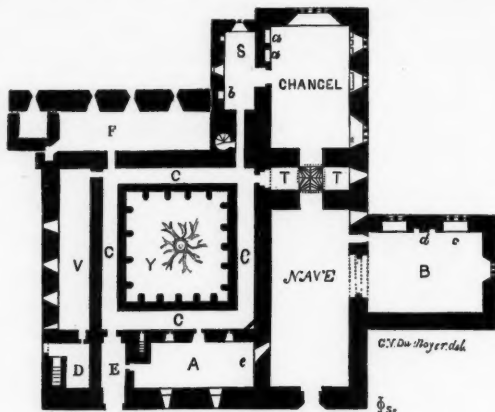
Ground-Plan of Muckross Abbey.

A, Abbot or Prior's House; B, South Transept ; C, Cloisters; D, Kitchen ;
    E, Entrance ; F, Dormitory ; S, Sacristy; T, Central Tower ; V, Refec-
    tory ; Y, Yew-Tree.

The plan of the Friary Church of Muckross consists of a nave
and chancel of the same width, with a tower inserted in the way
previously described, between the two, and a south transept.   The
cloisters are situated on the north side of the nave, and are sur-
rounded by vaulted apartments, above which, on the second story,
are the conventual offices; the abbot or prior's house occupying the
west side, the refectory the north side, and the dormitory the east
side.   The kitchen is at the north-west corner ; the garderobe is at
the north-east corner, beyond the dormitory ; and the sacristy is on
the north side of the chancel.   There are two entrances to the clois-
ters, one at the north-west corner, between the abbot's house and
the kitchen, and another at the south-east corner, leading from the
part of the church beneath the central tower.   The chancel is in
imitation of the style of the end of the thirteenth century, the nave
and transept of the fourteenth, and the central tower of the fif-
teenth.   An inscription on a tablet built into the north wall of the
chancel, inside, shows that the church was restored in 1626.   It
reads as follows :—

> " Orate pro felicitate fratris
>   Thadei Nolani qui hunc sacrum
>   Conventum de novo renovare

Curavit anno domini milessimo
Sexcengentissimo vicessimo sexto."
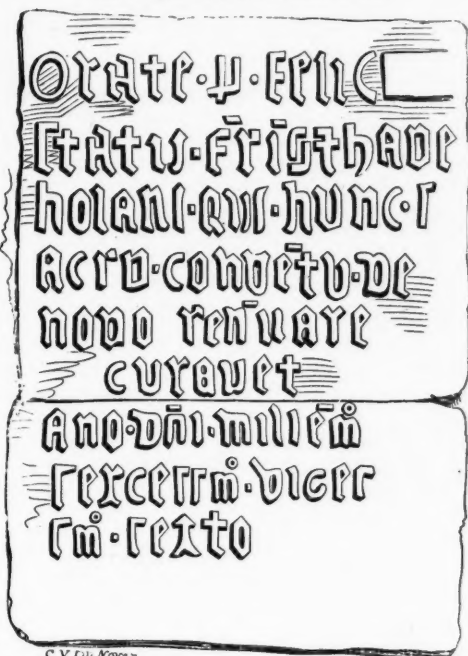
Inscription, Muckross Abbey.

EVENING MEETING, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11th.

The members of the Irish and Welsh Archæological Societies, to the number of 120, dined together at the Railway Hotel, Lord James Wandesford Butler, D.L., presiding. After the usual loyal toast, the President proposed the toast of "The Cambrian Archæological Association, coupled with the name of the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, the Chairman of the Committee"; and the latter, in responding, proposed "The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and its President, Lord James Butler." This toast was acknowledged by his Lordship, and he at the same time proposed the health of the Rev. Prof. Sayce, the eminent Egyptologist, and Member of the Cambrian Archæological Association, who made an appropriate speech in reply. The Rev. Prof. Stokes, D.D., then read his paper on "The Island Monasteries of Wales and Ireland" after which the proceedings terminated.

EXCURSION, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12TH.

Route.—This day's excursion was by carriage to Aghadoe Cathedral (three miles west of Killarney); thence past Killalee Church to Dunloe Castle (three miles further west); and through the Gap of Dunloe (eight miles south from Dunloe Castle) to the head of the Lakes, returning by boat through the three Lakes of Killarney.

Aghadoe Cathedral and Castle.—The Cathedral of Aghadoe, or Achad-dá-éo (the Field of the Two Yews) is situated three miles west of Killarney, on high ground, 405 feet above sea-level, from which, perhaps, a better general idea of the magnificence of the lake and mountain scenery of the district can be got than from any other point of vantage in the neighbourhood. The ground slopes up the whole way from the north shore of the Lower Lake to the Cathedral, a distance of about a mile. No one who has visited any considerable number of ancient ecclesiastical buildings can fail to have been struck by the care which the monks took in selecting sites where feelings of religious devotion might be intensified by the contemplation of all that is beautiful in nature. Sometimes the church stands beside a brawling stream, amidst the sylvan scenery of some secluded glen; or it is found by the banks of the broad river flowing through the rich meadows of the plain; or, as at Aghadoe, the charm lies in the extent of the landscape to be seen from an elevation, with its ever-changing effects of light and shade and variations of colour. The ecclesiastical remains at Aghadoe consist of the ruins of the Cathedral and the stump of a round tower, besides which are the mouldering walls of an old castle on the grassy hill-side sloping down towards the Lake.

A church was founded here at a very early period by St. Finan, the Leper, who also founded the Monastery of Innisfallen, and whose festival is held on March 16th. Aghadoe afterwards became the site of a bishopric which was in later times joined to that of Ardfert. The earliest historical notice of the place is in the *Annals of Innisfallen,* under the year A.D. 992, and there is a subsequent entry, under A.D. 1044, where a stone church is specifically mentioned. Careful descriptions of the architectural features of the Cathedral and other buildings will be found amongst Mr. J. H. Parker's articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1864, pt. i, p. 411) already referred to, and in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. ii, pp. 35 and 115). Lord Dunraven considers Aghadoe to be the least interesting of the cathedral churches he met with in Ireland. The plan consists of two chambers of equal width separated from each other by a cross wall, not bonded in with side-walls and not having a chancel-arch, and which Mr. Parker suggests was "probably erected when at some time a residence for the priest was needed". The western chamber, which we may call the nave for the sake of convenience, is 36 ft. 2 ins. long by

23 ft. 6 ins. wide inside, and the eastern chamber or chancel is 44 ft. 9 ins. long by 23 ft. 7 ins. wide inside, the walls being 3 ft. thick. The oldest part of the church is at the north-west corner, as shown by the large blocks of stone forming the masonry of the

Ground-Plan of Aghadoe Cathedral.

gable wall, which is quite different from that of the rest of the building. There is a single round-headed window in the north wall of the nave, three or four inches wide on the outside, with inclined jambs, and deeply splayed on the inside; and there is
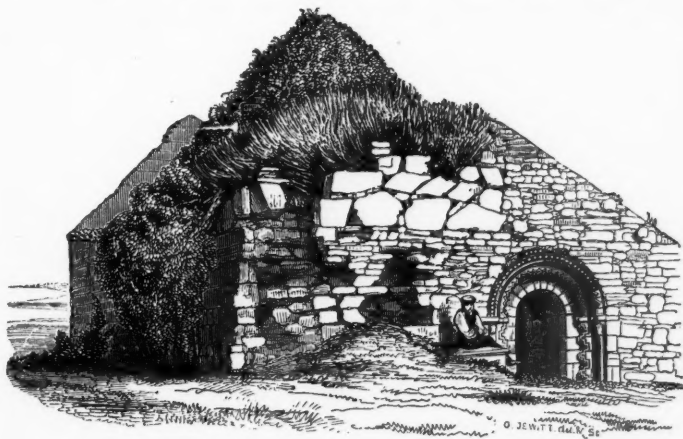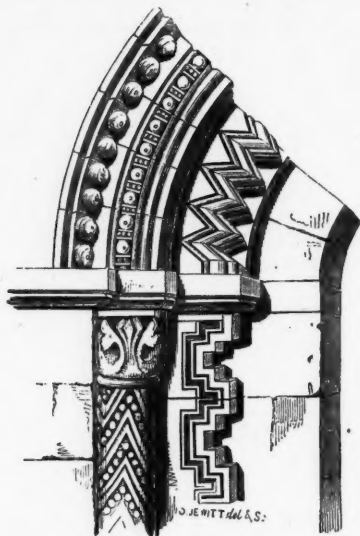

Western Gable and Doorway, Aghadoe Cathedral.

a similar window in the south wall opposite. This part of the building must therefore be of the early Hiberno-Romanesque period, and is perhaps all that now remains of the stone church of A.D. 1044 referred to in the *Annals of Innisfallen*. The church was subsequently lengthened in the thirteenth century, as the double

lancets in the east gable are of that date. These lancets are 9 ft. 6 ins. high and 6 ins. wide, splayed on the inside. There is a curious bit of detail on each side of the splays between the windows, at the top, consisting of a human head and an ornament[1] carved in relief. These double east windows are very characteristic of Irish architecture. In England the lancets are either single or in groups of three. The openings in the cross wall between the nave and chancel consist of a doorway on the north side, and a round-headed window splayed on the side facing west, on the south side.

The chief interest of Aghadoe Cathedral is concentrated in the

Details of Western Doorway, Aghadoe Cathedral.

highly-enriched round-headed Hiberno-Romanesque portal at the west end of the nave, which has unfortunately, however, been partially pulled down and rebuilt, many of the arch-stones having been misplaced. The aperture of the doorway is 5 ft. 3 ins. high by 2 ft. 7 ins. wide at the springing of the arch, and 2 ft. 9 ins. wide at the bottom.

There are three orders of arch-mouldings, one recessed behind the other, and a hood-moulding round the outside. The inner moulding is plain ; the second is ornamented with moulded chevrons ; and the third has a pelleted band on the face, each pellet being

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[1] This ornament is a square ring looped at the corners, and is quite incorrectly drawn in Lord Dunraven's book.
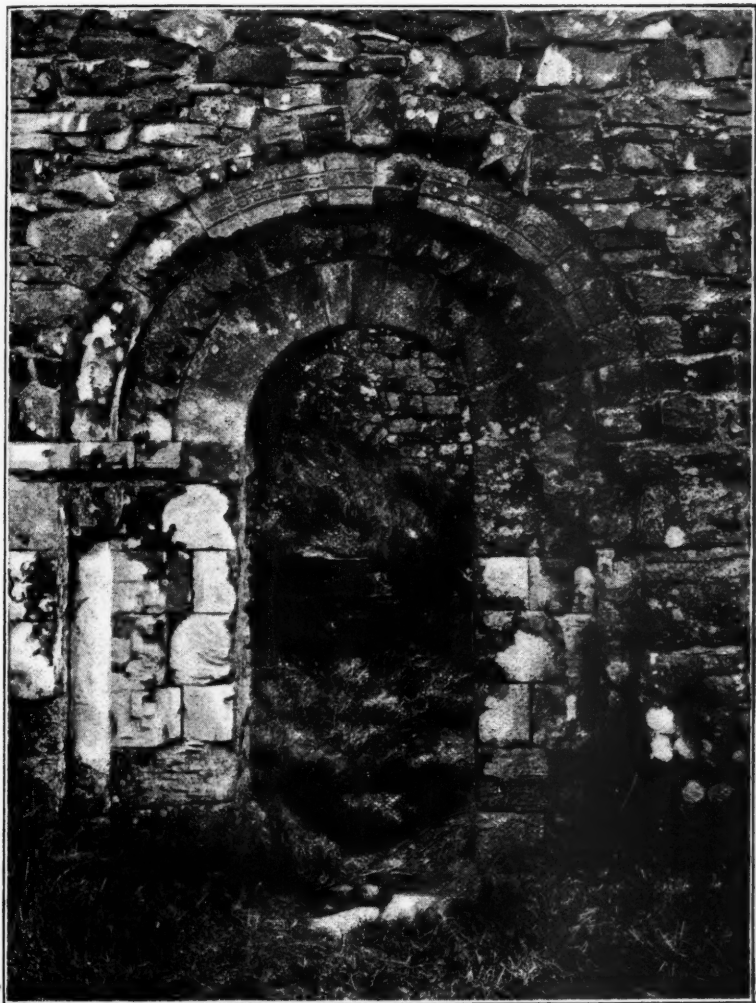
WEST DOORWAY, AGHADOE, KILLARNEY.

From a Photograph by W. H. Banks, Esq.

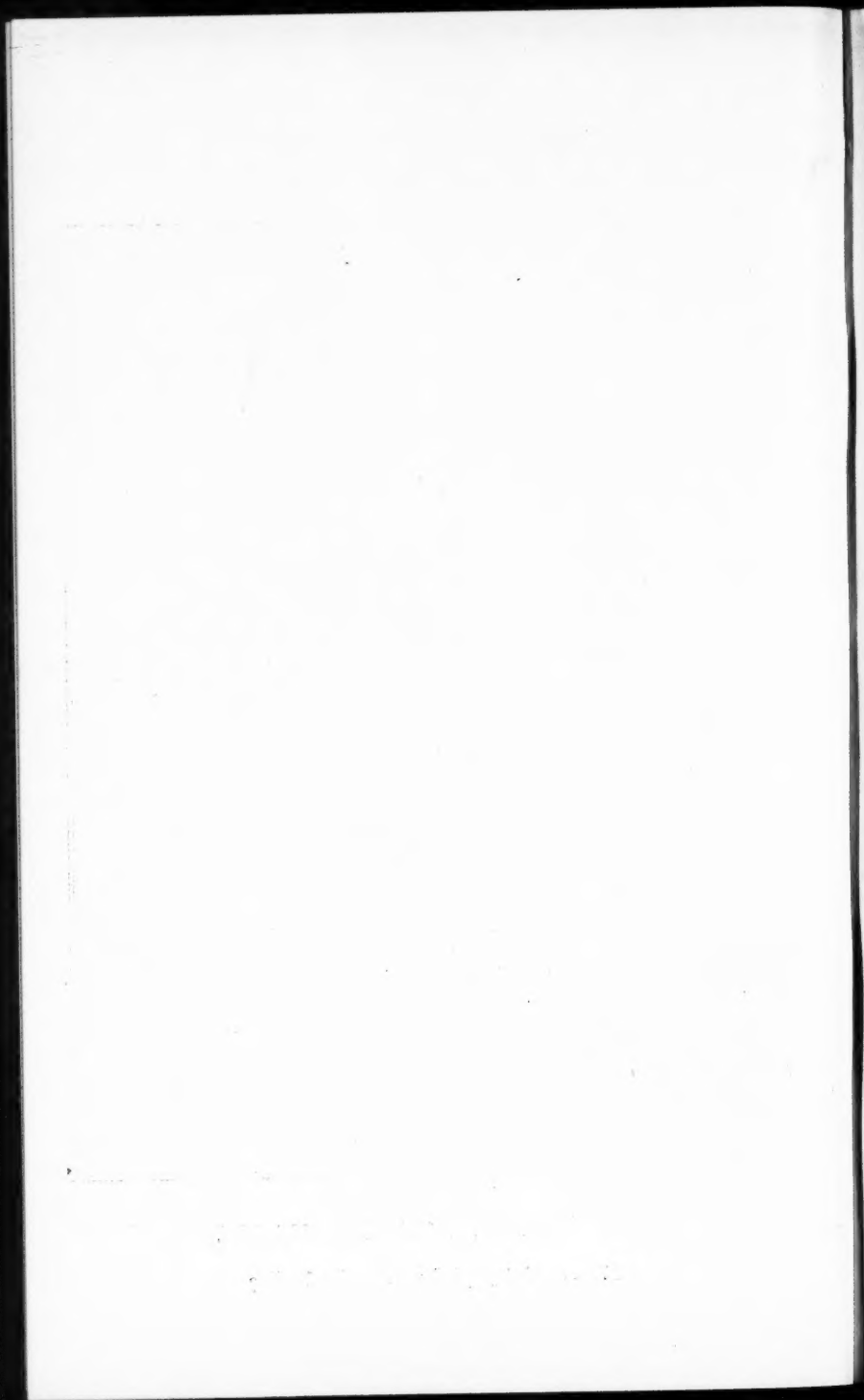separated from the next one by a cross-bar having smaller pellets.
The hood moulding is decorated with projecting knobs or balls.
Six of the arch-stones appear to have been taken from some other
part of the building, as they exhibit two separate kinds of chevron
mouldings quite different from those forming the rest of the arch.
In the outer angles of the jambs is a nook-shaft on each side
ornamented with chevrons and rows of pellets. The middle order
of the jamb has a most beautiful step-pattern carved upon it,
resembling the designs found on the enamelled bosses of the early
Celtic metal-work.

There is a stone bearing an Ogam inscription built into the south
wall of the chancel of Aghadoe Cathedral. It was found by Mr.
Pelham in the north-west corner of the building, and is described
in the *Vallancey Collections* (vol. v, p. 193); in Windele's *Cork and
Killarney* (p. 337); by Lady Chatterton, in *Rambles in the South of
Ireland* (vol. i, p. 231); and by Rolt Brash, in *Ogam Monuments*
(p. 226). Mr. Brash says that the stone "is at present to be seen
in the garden of Lord Headley's residence near Killarney". It is
a rudely-shaped pillar 5 ft. 6 ins. long, by 10 ins. wide in the middle
and 8 ins. at the ends, by 6 ins. thick, inscribed on one angle thus:

2 ft. 10 in.

..   R   R   U   A   N   A   N   N   .....
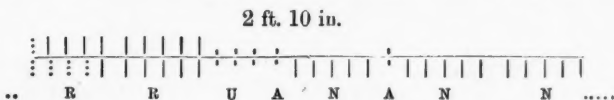
In the churchyard are some late tombstones with Scripture
subjects carved upon them in an extremely barbarous style. The
most curious one represents the Crucifixion, with an angel present-
ing a chalice to the Blessed Virgin to receive the blood and water
flowing from the wound.

The stump of the Round Tower is situated at the north-west
corner of the churchyard, close to the road, and is about thirty
yards from the west end of the Cathedral. It is 7 feet in diameter
inside, the walls being 4 feet thick, built of large stones laid in
courses of uneven thickness with sloping beds (not ashlar masonry,
as stated by Lord Dunraven). When Dr. Petrie first saw the
tower it was more than twenty feet high, and had a doorway
twelve feet above the ground. (For illustrations, see Lord Dun-
raven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 35 ; and *Gentleman's
Magazine* for 1864, Pt. 1, p. 411.)

The Castle or Military Tower is situated outside the churchyard,
a little way down the hill to the south. It is a circular Norman
keep of the thirteenth century, 21 ft. diameter inside, having walls
about 6 ft. thick, .rudely built of rounded water-worn boulders.
A staircase in the thickness of the wall leads to the first floor, and
there are indications of a second floor above. The doorway is on
the east side, on a level with the ground. The tower stands
within a square intrenchment, having projecting bastions on the

south side. (See Lord Dunraven's *Notes*, vol. ii, p. 35; and *Gent. Mag.* for 1864, Pt. 1, p. 416.)
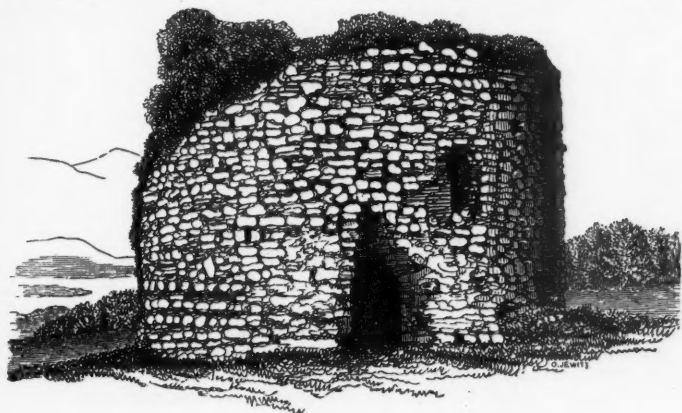

Round Tower, Aghadoe.

Dunloe Ogam Cave.—The celebrated Dunloe Ogam Cave is situated on a sandy knoll one mile south of Beaufort Bridge, and not quite half a mile west of Dunloe Castle. It is close to the west bank of the river Loe, about half a mile south of its junction with the river Laune. Beaufort Bridge is six miles west of Killarney, and crosses over the river Laune some two miles above the point where it enters the north-west corner of Lough Leane. The road from Killarney to Beaufort Bridge goes in a westerly direction parallel to the north shore of Lough Leane, and it is here that the excursionist turns southward to go through the Gap of Dunloe.

The cave was discovered in 1838 by some workmen engaged in the construction of a sunk fence in the demesne of Dunloe. Mr. Abell of Cork visited the place shortly after, and made copies of such inscriptions as were visible. Since that time it has been frequently examined by almost every ogam scholar of repute. The result of Mr. Windele's visit is given in his *Notices of Cork and Killarney* (p. 346); of Mr. Rolt Brash's visit in 1869, in his *Ogam Monuments* (p. 231). It has also been described by Sir S. Ferguson in his *Ogam Inscriptions* (p. 107); and in the *Journal of the Royal*

Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, by Mr. G. M. Atkinson (New Series, vol. v, p. 523); by Prof. Rhys (4th Series, vol. vi, p. 313); and by the Right Rev. Charles Graves, D.D. (4th Series, vol. vii, p. 606).

The Dunloe Ogam Cave belongs to a class of artificial souterrains usually found within the fortified areas of the Irish raths, and which were probably cellars, beneath structures above ground, intended for the storage of food or objects of value.[1] Similar underground structures are found in Cornwall,[2] and also in Scot-

Military Tower, Aghadoe.

land,[3] where they are called "eirde" (*i.e.*, earth) houses or "weems" (caves). The rath caves of Ireland have supplied the largest collections of ogam monuments, the most notable instances being as follows:—Ballynock, co. Cork, 15; Drumlogan, co. Waterford, 9; Dunloe, co. Kerry, 7; Ballyhank, 6; Rockfield, 6; Monataggart, 4; Whitefield, 4; Aghacarrible, 3; Aghalisky, 3; Roovesmore, 3. Sir S. Ferguson[4] rightly conjectures that the fact of the rath-caves yielding such large groups of inscribed stones may be accounted for by supposing that the roofing-stones of the caves were taken from a neighbouring "killeen", or ancient burial-ground. The builders of the rath-caves would be sorely tempted by the sight of so many long stones exactly suited to their requirements to let their laziness get the better of their feelings of reverence for the memorials of the dead, and not waste time in going further afield

[1] See R. Brash's *Ogam Monuments*, p. 103.
[2] Borlase's *Nenia Cornubiæ*; Blight's *Week at the Land's End.*
[3] Dr. J. Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times*, and numerous papers in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* by Sir Arthur Mitchell and others.
[4] *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 27.

4²

for their building materials, but take what Providence had placed ready at hand.

A parallel might be drawn between the protective colours of animals which are evolved by the laws of the survival of the fittest and the various causes which have prevented ancient monuments from being destroyed, on account of their special adaptability to new uses undreamt of by the original erectors. An amusing case in point is that of an ogam-inscribed stone found in the townland of Deelish, co. Cork, and now in the British Museum, which was kept, not on account of any value attached to it as a relic of antiquity, but because it resembled a coffin in shape ![1]

The entrance to the Dunloe Ogam cave is close to the hedge of the field in which it is situated, and some modern steps have been made there for the convenience of visitors. On the occasion of the visit of the Irish and Welsh archæologists, the inscriptions on the upper surfaces of the roofing slabs were exposed to view by the removal of the sandy soil to a depth of three or four feet. The cave consists of an underground passage, the first portion of which next the entrance goes in a southerly direction, and the second bends towards the east. The side-wall on the west, or left hand looking inwards, is curved throughout its whole length, whereas the opposite wall is in two straight sections, making an obtuse angle at the junction. The section nearest the entrance is 10 ft. long, and the one further in 8 ft. 6 ins. long. The width of the passage at the entrance is 7 ft. at the bottom, and 6 ft. 3 ins. at the top. At the angle where the passage bends to the east it is 4 ft. 6 ins. wide at the bottom ; and at the end it is only 3 ft. 3 ins. wide. The height ranges from 4 ft. 6 ins. to 4 ft. The side-walls are built of rubble masonry put together without cement; and the top is roofed over with long slabs placed across from wall to wall, so as to form a series of lintels. Near the far end other slabs are placed longitudinally above the lintels. There are 9 lintel-stones, the longest of which measures 9 ft., averaging 10 to 12 ins. by 8 ins. thick. Beginning from the entrance and going inwards, the first two and the fourth, fifth, and sixth roofing-stones are inscribed ; the third, seventh, eighth, and ninth being plain. The second lintel has a fracture in the middle, which necessitated in ancient times its support by a vertical prop or pillar. This support is 4 ft. 6 ins. high, by 1 ft. wide, by 4 ins. thick ; and is also inscribed, making seven inscribed stones in all.
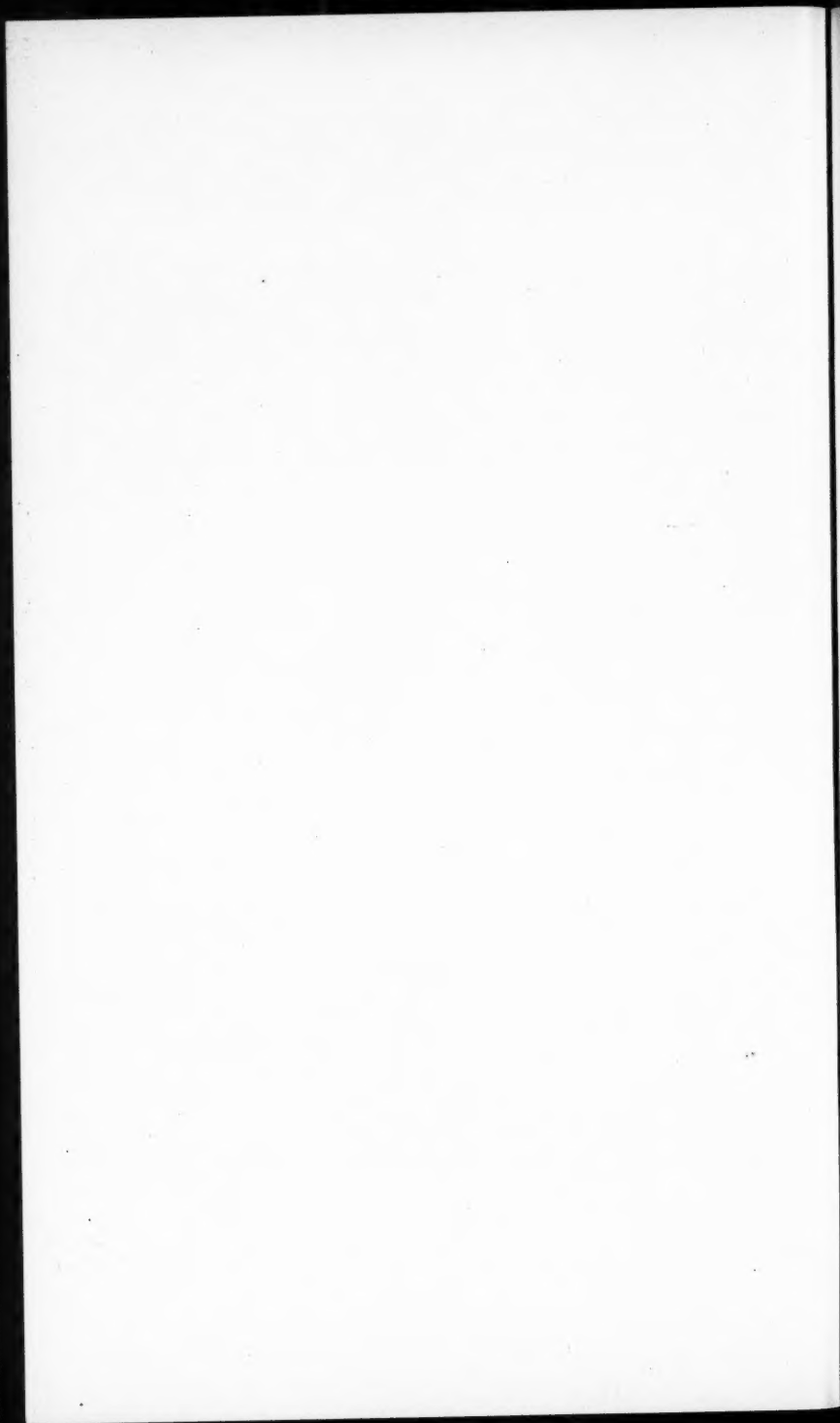
The following is a description of the inscribed stones, with Prof. Rhys' readings :—
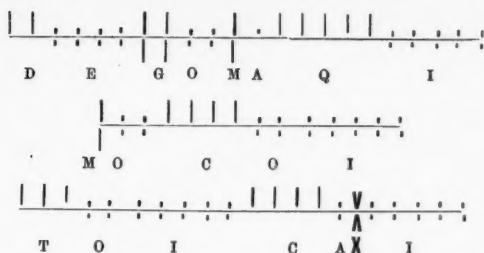
(No. 1.) The first lintel, next the entrance ; 9 ft. long, by 1 ft. 7 ins. wide, by 8½ ins. thick ; inscribed on the upper angle facing outwards, and reading from right to left, thus :

[1] Brash, p 122.

DUNLOE OGHAM CAVE.   *From a photograph by F. M. Franklem, Esq.*

D   E   G   O   M   A   Q   I

M   O   C   O   I

T   O   I   C   A X I

(No. 2.) The second lintel from the entrance ; 7 ft. 9 ins. long,
by 1 ft. 5 ins. wide, by 6 ins. thick, inscribed on the upper angle
facing inwards, and reading from left to right, thus :[1]

M A   Q   I   R   I   T   E   A   S

M A   Q   I   M A   Q   I

D   D   U   M   I   L   E   A   S

and on the upper angle facing outwards, and reading from left to
right—

M   U   C   O   I

T   O   I   C   A   C   I
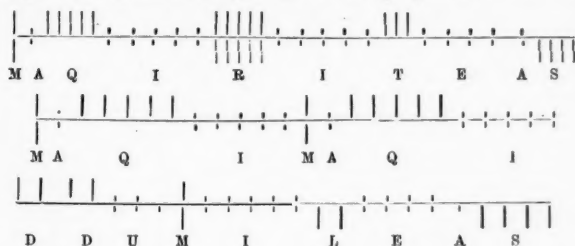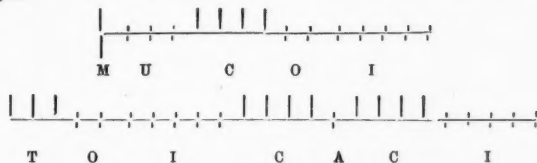
(No. 3.) The fourth lintel from the entrance ; inscribed on the
lower angle facing outwards, and reading from left to right, thus :

M A   Q   I   T   T   A L
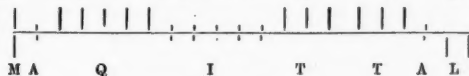
[1] With regard to Ddumileas and Riteas, Prof. Rhys writes to the Editor
as follows: " These seem to be genitives feminine, and the *eas* appears to be
a form of the *ias* of such genitives as Dovvinias: in fact, one such, at least,
occurs in both forms, namely Gosocteas and Gossucttias. Dovvinias is repre-
sented in the Book of the Dun Cow, fol. 54ᵃ, by the accusative Duibind,
genitive Duibni ; so the declension is that of the ī stems given by Stokes at
p. 18 of his *Celtic Declension*.

MA   Q   I   V   O   R   G   O   S

MA   Q   I   M   U   C   O   I

T   O   I   C   A   C
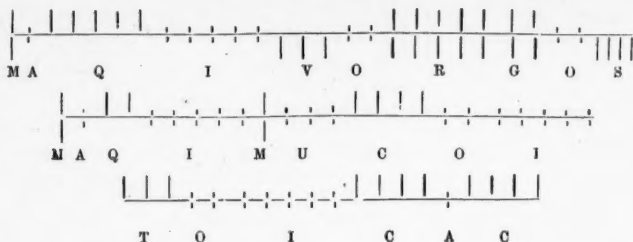
(No. 4.) The fifth lintel from the entrance; inscribed on the upper angle, facing outwards—
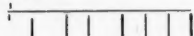
(No. 5.) The sixth lintel from the entrance; inscribed on the lower angle facing inwards,

N   I   O   T   T   V   R ${}^{I}_{E}$ C   C   MA   Q

and on the upper angle facing inwards,

N   G
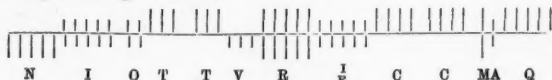
(No. 6.) A longitudinal stone above the fifth and sixth lintels,

MA   Q   I   D   E   C   E   D AMA   Q   1 .....
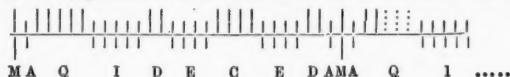
(No. 7.) The vertical pillar supporting the second lintel ; 5 ft. 1 in. long, by 1 ft. wide, by 4 or 5 ins. thick ; inscribed on the left-hand angle facing outwards, and reading from top downards, thus :

C   U   N   A   C   E   N   A
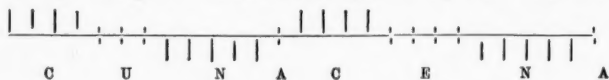
The illustration is from a photograph taken by Mr. T. M. Franklen (not Mr. F. M. Franklen, as printed on the title of the Plate), and gives a view looking down on the top of the roofing-stones after the earth was cleared away.

Dunloe Castle.—Here the party were hospitably entertained to luncheon by Dr. and Mrs. Stoker.

The Castle, which is now used as a modern dwelling-house, was erected in A.D. 1215 by an O'Sullivan Mor.   In 1641 this strong-hold was taken and dismantled by General Ludlow, one of Crom-well's chief officers.   From the grounds in front of the Castle an

exquisite vista is presented to the eye of the last reach of the river Laune, about a mile long, before it flows into Lough Leane.

The Gap of Dunloe.—After leaving Dunloe Castle, no further objects of archæological interest were to be seen during the excursion, and the members gave themselves up unreservedly to the enjoyment of the splendid mountain scenery of the Gap of Dunloe, which in its way cannot be excelled even by the Pass of Llanberis in Wales, or of Glencoe in Scotland. The Gap of Dunloe is a rocky gorge running in a direction due north and south; bounded on the east by the Tomies and the Purple Mountains, and on the west by the Macgillycuddy's Reeks, the loftiest peak of which is a little over 3,000 ft. high. The river Loe runs at the bottom of the gorge, taking its rise near the south end, and forming small mountain tarns at intervals as it descends, the largest being Lough Dubh, or the Black Lake, where St. Patrick is believed to have destroyed the last demon-serpent left in Ireland. On reaching the Black Lake, two miles and a half south of Dunloe Castle, the carriages had to be left behind, as the road is not practicable for wheeled vehicles beyond this point, and the remainder of the excursion through the Gap was completed either on ponies or on foot, as anyone felt disposed. The only drawback to the thorough enjoyment of the beauties of nature was the incessant pestering of beggars to which all tourists are subjected. The firing off of small cannons to produce an echo and the everlasting demands for baksheesh quite destroy the solitude and silence so essential for the due appreciation of the wilder aspects of nature. Some of the syrens who try to tempt the unwary by offers of mountain dew are decidedly pretty, and fully understand the art of dropping the eyelids and then suddenly unmasking a battery of beautiful eyes upon the victim. If this can be successfully resisted, a softly-modulated wheedling "Ah, do, sorr!" generally completes the conquest. It is amusing also to observe the conventionality of the stage-laugh which is put on as a matter of business as each successive tourist passes by. From the Black Lake the road rises the whole way for a distance of three miles to the head of the Gap, where the summit-level is reached. From this point it is only about a mile and a half, as the crow flies, to the head of the Upper Lake, but the road has to make a zigzag nearly doubling the distance, in order to accomplish the descent at a reasonable gradient.

Having reached Lord Brandon's Cottage, at the west end of the Upper Lake, the party embarked in the excellently-manned boats belonging to the different hotels, and were conveyed by water back to Killarney. From the Upper Lake a long narrow channel leads into the Middle or Muckross Lake, and just before entering it the rapids under the Old Weir Bridge have to be shot. Only one corner of Muckross Lake is traversed to reach Brickeen Bridge, which spans the entrance to Lough Leane, the largest and lowest of the three Lakes of Killarney. The whole length of the voyage through the lakes is about twelve miles.

EVENING MEETING, WEDNESDAY, AUG. 12TH.

The evening meeting was held at 8 o'clock P.M., when Prof.
Rhys delivered his Presidential Address. This was followed by
the reading of Mr. J. Romilly Allen's paper on "Celtic Art in
Wales and Ireland Compared", which will be printed in a future
number of the Journal. Prof. Rhys' Address was as follows :—

THE IRISH INVASIONS OF WALES AND DUMNONIA.

The original Celtic settlement in Ireland, that is to say by the
Aryans who introduced the Gaelic language, consisted probably of
the ancient kingdom of Meath, which included not only the counties
of Meath and Westmeath, but also most of those of Dublin, Longford,
and King's County. Tradition at any rate gives us this hint when
it represents Meath as carved out of the four divisions of the
island. Add to this the claims of the ruler in possession of Tara,
within Meath, to rule over the whole of Ireland. To my mind, these
and other traditions about Meath indicate that it was the first
Celtic, and, in fact, the first Aryan settlement in the island.

As to the people who possessed Meath previously, they probably
belonged to a race widely spread in the west of Europe, a race
which may, perhaps, be provisionally designated Ibero-Pictish; but
they may be termed Ivernians in Ireland, and their nearest kindred
were the Picts of Britain. Nay, the name Pict, in one of its forms,
was probably their national designation, as I have elsewhere tried
to show.[1] This race I suppose to have been here long before the
Aryans came, possibly even before this country had become an
island. By the time, however, when the Celts began to arrive in the
British Isles, the Picts were, doubtless, in what is called the neo-
lithic stage of civilisation, and they first became acquainted with
bronze as wielded, probably to their detriment, by the brawny arm
of the conquering Aryan.

But who, more exactly defined, was this conqueror, some of you may
ask ? The first Aryan invaders of the British Isles are supposed
to have been the Celts ; but there were at least two groups of Celts,
and the evidence of language does not enable us to distinguish
more than two. There were, first, those who introduced the Goi-
delic tongue, which has by this time branched into the Gaelic
dialects of Ireland, Man, and the Highlands of Scotland with its
Islands; and, secondly, those Celts who introduced the Brythonic
tongue, which is represented now only by Welsh and Breton, but
formerly also by old Cornish, no longer a spoken language. As
the notions of many with regard to the mutual relation between these
two groups of Celts are exceedingly hazy, I should advise some of

[1] *Scottish Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 124-142.

my fellow Cambrians to try the effect of a little Welsh on the Gaelic speaking peasant of this county of Kerry. Ask him, for example, a simple question,—*Beth yw d' enw di? Pa le 'r wyt ti 'n byw? Beth wyt ti 'n feddwl am y tywydd llaith -ma ?* or the like. For the sake of any Cambrian who may happen to be unable to speak Welsh fluently, I may venture the statement that Welshmen and Irishmen are no more mutually intelligible as Celts, than a Dublin Irishman from Thomas Street would be under the Limes in Berlin. The distinction between Goidels and Brythons dates probably from very early times, though our archæologists mostly persist in ignoring it. Of course, it may be that their data do not yet suffice to show it: in any case it should be borne in mind.

Well, the only Celts of whose landing in Ireland in prehistoric times we have any proof, belonged to the Goidelic group. The other Celts, namely of the Brythonic group, are represented in this country mainly by the descendants of the Welsh soldiers who came over with or after Strongbow. But I have nothing to do with them, and I return to our prehistoric Celts. It is so much nicer not to be troubled with what our schoolmasters call facts.

The next question as to those prehistoric Celts is whence they came to Erinn. Some, perhaps, would say that it was direct from Spain or Gaul; but probably more would say that, wherever they came from, they reached this country from the neighbouring island of Britain, and that is the view I should be inclined to take; for as a bad sailor I am readily persuaded that navigating the Bay of Biscay must have always been a serious undertaking for the mariners of early times. Nevertheless I have heard it said, that there are indubitable traces of direct connection between the west of Ireland and the Iberian peninsula. If there be proofs of intercourse between Erinn and Spain in historic times, that does not touch the question of the prehistoric settlement of Aryan Celts in this country. On the other hand, similarity of race between the peasantry in Ireland and in Spain is just what you would expect in virtue of their both belonging, in a greater or less degree, to the same aboriginal race. It is known, I dare say, to most of you that where a village or small community of the ancient inhabitants appears to have preserved the darkness of their complexion and the blackness of their hair, especially in districts otherwise more or less occupied by fair-haired Aryans, the story is found to prevail, that the former are the descendants of the crew of some ship or other of the Spanish Armada. I have heard something like it in Lleyn, the peninsular portion of Carnarvonshire; and it is current, I believe, in one of the Orkneys or Shetlands.

The legend connecting Ireland with Spain is undoubtedly old; but it is of a learned and etymological origin, based, as I take it, on a misunderstanding of a passage of Orosius,[1] and partly on the similarity between the words *Hibernia* and *Iberia:* at any rate I

Book i, 2; for a discussion of the passage see the notes to the *Irish Nennius*, pp. 238-9.

see no reason to regard it as the expression of a genuine, popular tradition with its roots deeply fixed in the distant past of prehistoric times.

Now, if I am right in regarding Meath as the first tract of country occupied here by the Celts, this would imply the probability of their having come directly, not from the Continent, but from the nearest shores of the sister island of Britain. Ancient Meath comprised Mag Breg, or the plain from Dublin to Drogheda. In other words, Meath was a country with its front, so to say, turned to the Irish Sea, in the direction of which we have accordingly to look for its beginnings in the political or historical sense. It would, of course, be impossible to fix the date or the spot where the first contingent of Celts landed in the east of Ireland. The invasion probably took scores of years, possibly hundreds, and began, perhaps, somewhere about the mouth of the Liffey. Later arrivals had presumably to land more and more north and south of the original occupation. I mention this as I think it just possible to indicate the relative positions of the contingents making up the wings of the invading forces. Thus with the one to the south of the central position I should associate the name of Leinster. That vocable, stripped of its Scandinavian ending, is, in mediæval Irish Gaelic, *Lagin* or *Laigin*, a plural which meant literally "spears"; and secondarily, Leinstermen, or simply Leinster. So we are told in the Dinn-senchus in the *Book of Leinster*, that Leinster was called Lagin from the broad spears (*de na lágnib lethna*) which the soldiers of Labraid Longsech brought with him to conquer the country: and the story proceeds to mix itself with that of the Danish invasions, of which I need not speak. The chief sites identified with the Leinstermen or Lagenians, as their name is sometimes rendered, are those of Naas, their capital, in the county of Kildare; Dinnrigh, an ancient capital of theirs on the west bank of the Barrow, between Carlow and Leighlin; and Ard Brestine near Tullow, in the same county of Carlow. I may, perhaps, add Mount Leinster, between the counties of Carlow and Wexford. It is termed in Irish "Sliab Suide Laigen", or the Mountain of the Lagenians' Seat.

It is difficult to decide how they reached the district now represented by the county of Carlow. Did they come from the sea and round the northern spurs of the Wicklow Hills, so as to settle themselves at Naas before reaching Dinnrigh, or *vice versâ?* Or was it merely a southward conquest from Meath? I should imagine that their movements were from Naas towards Dinnrigh and Mount Leinster rather than the reverse, and it may have been an expansion of Meath; but the fact that the story represents Labraid as an exile introducing men with a new kind of weapon, would assuredly seem to imply the landing of warriors from Britain.

As to the other wing of the Celtic invasion, it extended northwards probably far enough to take in most of the flat country comprised in the present county of Louth. Now due east of Louth the level coast of Britain, now part of South Lancashire, was occu-

pied, according to the geographer Ptolemy, that is in the early part of the second century, by a people called the Setantii; and a harbour called after them is said to correspond to the mouth of the Ribble, while a river called by the cognate name of Seteia is supposed to have been the Dee. So we should probably be approximately right in supposing that they once inhabited the coast of South Lancashire. They have, however, no position given them by Ptolemy in his enumeration of the chief tribes of Britain; so they are probably to be regarded as forming a part of the great tribe of the Brigantes, or as subject to them, and enjoying the same state of culture. Some of these Brigantes were characterised by their use of iron war-chariots, as is abundantly proved by the remains of the chariots themselves and of the horses found buried with their owners in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Now the use of war-chariots was well known to the heroes of one cycle, at least, of Irish story. Nay, perhaps Irish literature is the only modern literature—modern, I mean, as opposed to the writings of the classic authors of Greece and Rome—which gives a European account of the war-chariot. Unfortunately the language is very archaic and obscure; but such is the minuteness of the description and the elaboration of details that I have no manner of doubt that it emanates from a time when war-chariots were still in use in this country, and from men who knew intimately what a war-chariot meant, and how it was handled. Lug the Long-handed, however, is never mentioned riding in a chariot any more than Finn or Ossian or Diarmait. The use of chariots is confined to the heroes of the Ultonian Cycle, that is to say, Conchobar mac Nessa and his warriors, together with those with whom they had most immediately to do. Their chariots speed wildly over the plain from Emain Macha to Naas, and from Dundalk to Rathcroghan in Roscommon. The opening years of the Christian era are supposed to have been the time when these heroes of the Ultonian Cycle flourished, making things merry for themselves, and lively for their neighbours on all hands.

The man, of all others, who was most famous among them for his careering across the country was he who is known to the sagas of Erinn as Cúchulainn. Hardly a character in Irish story is seemingly more mythical than Cúchulainn, but he is supposed by some to be historical. I have often been reproached with reducing the verities of history to the haze and mist of mythology; but I am going to turn over a new leaf. In fact, I propose now to make a brief search for the historical element in the stories about Cúchulainn. Well, one of the last things of historical import just mentioned was the location of the people called the Setantii on the coast of Lancashire; but what, you will ask, has that to do with Cúchulainn? More, perhaps, than one might imagine; for Cúchulainn's first name was Setanta Beg, which, as regards the name of the Setantii, must have meant as much as if we called him "the Little Setantian". But this Setantian was not born in Britain: his

reputed father, Sualda,[1] was in Ireland before him, and he belonged, like his son Setanta, to the court of Conchobar, whose sister, Dechtere, was, in fact, the mother of Little Setanta. Nevertheless, Sualda and his son Setanta were not racially identical with Conchobar and his braves; for the latter were all subject to the *cess noinden*, or the week's indisposition, which confined them every now and then to inactivity.

It would take too much time for me to tell you all that is known or guessed about this *cess* or *couvade;* but the peculiarity of the *couvade* of the men of Ulster is, that they were all affected at the same time. This was so well known that the warlike Queen Maive of Connaught once on a time determined to make a raid into Ulster during the days when the warriors of that realm were in their *couvade*, all except Cúchulainn and his father. The epic story of the Táin Bó Cuailnge relates how Cúchulainn defended Ulster in the interval against the whole army of the west. Incidentally it relates also how the Druid of Conchobar's court came to give Little Setanta his name of Cúchulainn.

Here one may lay one's finger on the incomplete amalgamation of story and myth. Setanta was probably a historical character who somehow came to be identified by Irish literature with the older character of a more mythical personage named Cúchulainn. The name Setanta, with its combination *nt*, sounds anything but Goidelic, and suggests that the bearer of it may have been Brythonic in point of race. Be that as it may, Setanta and his father may, perhaps, be regarded as identified with the close of the Celtic immigration and the introduction to Ireland of the civilisation of the Brigantes generally, and the use of war-chariots in particular.

In the East Riding of Yorkshire the deceased warrior is found buried, as I said, with his chariot and chargers, and it is not unnatural to infer that he was borne to his last resting-place in the chariot from which he had fought during his lifetime. Some such a habit as this would serve to explain why the word for chariot became that for a bier or a hearse in the Goidelic dialects of to-day. In Old Irish a chariot was *carpat*, borrowed probably from an early Brythonic *carbanto-n*,[2] whose Continental reflex was stereotyped in Latin as *carpentum*. If this be correct, we have to suppose the word lost in Brythonic during the Roman occupation, and reintroduced from a Goidelic source afterwards, accounting for the present Welsh form, *cerbyd*, a chariot or carriage of any kind. But the history of these words is very difficult, as the consonants do not correspond in them in the way to be expected in words which are merely cognate.

Whatever the date of the first Celtic settlement here may have

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[1] This name occurs also in the Nennian Genealogies: see the *Cymmrodor*, ix, 178.

[2] This in its Welsh form is *carfan*, and it means what is in English called the ripples of a cart, or wain-cops; Scotch, lead-trees: compare *carfan gwehydd*, "a weaver's beam", and *carfan gwely*, a bedstead.

been, and whatever the length of time it took to conquer ancient Meath, that conquest must eventually have acted as a sort of wedge driven into the trunk of Erinn. It must have sooner or later caused movements northwards and southwards, and those can be traced, to a certain extent, in Irish literature. The northward movement to which I would first allude is known as the conquest of Oriel, or southern Ulster, by the Three Collas. This had the effect, it is said, of driving the former possessors of Oriel, the Fir-ulaid or True Ultonians as they are called, into the peninsula east of the Bann and Lough Neagh; that is to say, approximately to the present counties of Down and Antrim. Irish annalists place this conquest about the year 331. How they arrive at that date I cannot exactly say, but I believe that they are not greatly mistaken, for about thirty years after the alleged crowding of the True Ultonians in the north-east corner of Ireland, a new nation appears by name in the history of the Roman province of Britain. I allude to the Scotti from this country,[1] who in the year 360 join with the Northern Picts in the first serious attack made from without on the Roman province. This, I take it, was one of the consequences of the aggressive movement which drove the True Ultonians of Oriel into the north-east of Ireland or Ulidia, as it is sometimes called to distinguish it from Ultonia, the whole of what is now called Ulster. Their only outlet was to Britain, to join in the raids carried on there by their kinsmen, the Picts of the North. Long afterwards, as you know, the emigration from the north-east of this country developed into a regular occupation of Argyle, and the establishment of a kingdom of Dalriad Scots in Alban.

Let us return to the conquest by the Three Collas of the country between Meath and the Bior or Moyola river flowing into the north-west corner of Lough Neagh and forming the northern boundary of the diocese of Armagh,[2] and between Lough Erne and Gleann Righe or the Vale of the Newry River. This became a very important realm of the Celts in Ireland, as is very clearly shown by the position of respect accorded to the king of Oriel by the king of Tara, as defined in the *Book of Rights*.[3] Though Louth is represented as annexed by Oriel, it must have been Celtic long before Oriel; nay, the Celtic conquest of Oriel may have proceeded in the first instance from Louth rather than from Meath. The ancient name of Louth, Cúchulainn's special charge, was Mag Murthemni, or the Plain of Murthemne; but its people were sometimes known as *Conailli*, a designation clearly connected with a personal name yielding in the genitive the ancient form of *Cunovali*[4] in an early inscription in Cornwall. The name Conailli

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[1] Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i, 97, where he cites *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xx. 1.
[2] See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 52.
[3] See pp. 142-3, and O'Donovan's note on the text.
[4] See Hübner's *Insc. Brit. Chris.*, No. 2; also Rhys' *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 86[2], where *Terra Conallea* should not have been confounded with Tirconnell in the north of the Island.

was purely Celtic, and belonged, no doubt, to the Celtic rulers of the district, which was accordingly known as Conaille Murthemne.[1]

To discuss these and other things connected with the development of the Celtic conquest northward would take too much time at present, as I wish now to show that something similar proceeded on the south of Meath, something, in fact, which closely concerns the history of that part of Britain from which we hail, the Principality of Wales. For just as the northward working of the Celtic conquest drove displaced tribes over to Alban, so a southward advance of the Celts of Meath drove a wave of emigration from Munster and Leinster to the lands bordering on the Bristol Channel or Severn Sea.

The Three Collas were led to undertake the conquest of Oriel by the turbulence and violence of their lives. They were grandsons of Cormac mac Airt, one of the most celebrated of the early kings of Tara. He was succeeded by his son Cairbre Lifechair, and the latter had a son, Eochaid Doimlen, whose sons were the Three Collas. Now when Cairbre died he was succeeded by his son Fiacha Srabtene, against whom the Three Collas waged a war in which the king fell. The eldest of the three brothers, Colla Uais, then became king; but he was defeated, together with his brothers, by Muiredach, son of the late king, whereupon the Collas went to exile to Britain, where they seem, however, to have lacked congenial employment, for they came back and surrendered themselves to the king of Tara, their cousin, who forgave them, and directed them to turn their arms against Ulster, and carve themselves a position there.[2] That was the conquest of Oriel which I have already mentioned as supposed by Irish historians to date about the year 331 A.D.

A somewhat similar story of Aryan violence is the one to which I am going to call your attention next, and it happened in the time of the grandfather of the Three Collas, namely Cormac mac Airt: in fact, he was one of the first victims of it.

There was a Celtic people called the Déisi of Mag Breg, whose chief, called "Oengus of the Poisonous Spear", was a sort of avenger of wrongs in the realm. He was of kingly descent, being a lineal representative of Tuathal Techtmar; and Oengus was roused to anger by a spoilt son of Cormac carrying away a daughter of one of Oengus' brothers. So Oengus proceeded to Tara, and did not halt till he had slain him in the presence of his father, king Cormac, who himself lost one of his eyes, owing to the violence with which Oengus used his spear.[3]

As a maimed king could not remain at the head of affairs at Tara, Cormac retired in favour of his son, Cairbre Lifechair, already mentioned; and both made war on Oengus and his Déisi. Many battles were fought, which resulted in the Déisi having at last

[1] See the *Four Masters*, A.M. 2859, and note *u*.
[2] O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 72.
[3] *The Book of the Dun Cow*, fol. 53.

to leave Tara and move southwards. The story is called the Banishment of the Déisi to Munster, and this is explained by the fact that what is now the county of Waterford was taken possession of by the Déisi.[1] It is divided by a rising ground called The Drum or Ridge, into the Decies within Drum, and the Decies without Drum. There is no reason, however, to suppose that all the Déisi went to that district, for the story also gives them the Plain of Feimin, or the Barony of Iffa and Offa East, in the county of Tipperary, and it makes them contest Ossory.

A series of place-names is utilised in tracing the Déisi's course southwards in the story; suffice it, however, to say here, that from being the Déisi of Mag Breg they become the Déisi of Tara, and leave their name to the Barony of Deece, south of Tara. Then, after an interval of obscurity, they are found in possession of the extensive tract of country already described as comprising the county of Waterford. The bulk of the banished Déisi, doubtless, remained in Ireland, but one of their chiefs, Eochaid, brother to Oengus, went on sea, and died, as we are told, in the land of Dyved (*Crich Demeth*), and there his descendants remained, forming what is in Irish pedigrees called "the Race of Crimthann on the other Side". But the genealogy of their chiefs proves virtually identical with that of the Kings of Dyved as given in the pedigree of Owen, son of Howel the Good ; for Howel's wife, Elen, the mother of Owen, was of that origin.

[NOTE ON THE MSS. OF THE PEDIGREES GIVEN ON PAGES 64, 65.

Laud 610 and Rawlinson B. 502 are well-known Irish MSS. : the latter is supposed to be of the twelfth century, and the former is thought by Dr. Whitley Stokes to belong to the earlier half of the fourteenth century.

With regard to the remaining pedigrees, the following details will, I hope, suffice :—The portion of the Harl. MS. 3859, containing the Nennian Genealogies, is said to be in a hand of the early twelfth century, copied, however, from a compilation made probably not later than the year 954. It has been carefully edited by Mr. Egerton Phillimore in the *Cymmrodor*, whence the portion here given has been taken : see volume ix, 171. The pedigree from the Jesus College MS. 20 has been copied from the *Cymmrodor* (vol. viii, 86), where it has been also edited by Mr. Phillimore ; the MS. is regarded by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans as ranging in date from 1330 to 1340. Further, it is to Mr. Phillimore that I am indebted for the other two versions, and the following is his account of them : the

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[1] The name Déisi seems to have no explanation in Irish, and, so far as I know, nothing stands in the way of deriving it from the same origin as the Welsh word *dewis* " a choice' . If this should prove well founded, the word *Déisi* should mean choice men or picked warriors, which they proved themselves to be by the obstinacy of their resistance to the whole power of Cormac mac Airt and his Sons.

pedigree here given from the *Hanesyn Hên* is from a paper manu-
script in the Free Library of Cardiff, and that is a copy of part of
the lost Hengwrt MS. 33, made from a transcript of the original
by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy in 1640. The other genealogy,
namely that from Rawlinson B. 466, comes from a collection also
traceable to the *Hanesyn Hên*: it seems to have been transcribed
about the time of Queen Elizabeth, perhaps by William Cynwal.

Lastly it is to be observed, that the vacant spaces in the pedigree
columns are not due to gaps in the genealogies, but to an attempt
on my part to put the names common to the latter on a level, for the
convenience of comparing the different versions.]

Bodleian MS., Laud 610, fol. 100[a1].	Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, B. 502, fol. 72[b1].
Taulodar	Tualodor
mac Rigind	mac Rigin
	mic Catacuind
mic Catien	mic Caittienn
mic Clothienn	mic Clotenn
mic Noé	mic Nee
mic Artúir	mic Artuir
mic Petuir	mic Retheoir
mic Congair	mic Congair
mic Goirtiben	mic Gartbuir
mic Alcon	mic Alchoil
mic Tresund	mic Trestin
mic Æda	mic Æda brosc
mic Brosc	
mic Corach	mic Corath
mic Echdach Allmair	mic Echach almuir
mic Airt chuirp	mic Arttchuirp

British Museum MS., Harl. 3859, fol. 193[b].	Cardiff Copy of the Hanesyn Hên, p. 77.	Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, B.466 (unpaged).	Jesus College MS. 20, fol. 36[a].
Margetiut	Maredudd	Meredudd	Maredud
map Teudos	ap	ap Tewdost	m. Teudos
map Regin			
map Catgocaun	ap Kadwg	ap Kadwgon	m. Gwgawn
		ap Kynddelw	
map Cathen	ap Kadeu	ap Kadien	m. Cathen
map Cloten	ap Gw....		m. Eleothen
map Nougoy	ap Nowy	ap Nowy	m. Nennue
map Arthur	ap Arth	ap Arthen	m. Arthur
map Petr	ap Pedyr	ap Pedyr	m. Peder
map Cincar	ap Kyngar	ap Kyngar	m. Kyngar
map Guortepir	ap Gwerthefyr	ap Gwrthyfyr	m. Gwrdeber
	ap Erbin	ap Erbin	m. Erbin
map Aircol	ap Aergul	ap Avargvl	m. Aircol Lawhir
	ap Llawir	ap Llawir	
map Triphun	ap Tryffin	ap Tri usin[1]	m. Tryphun
map Clotri			

On the next page of the same manuscript he is called *Tristin Varfog*, or
Tristin the Bearded.

Brit. Mus. MS.	Hanesyn Hên.	Bodleian MS.	Jesus Coll. MS.
	ap Ewein Vreisg	ap Owain Vraisg	m. Ewein Vreisc
	ap Kyndeyrn	ap Kyndeyrn	m. Cyndwr
	Vendigeit	Vendigaid	Bendigeit
	ap Ewein	ap Owain	m. Ewein
	ap Kyngar	ap Kyngar	m. Kyngar
			m. Prwtech
	ap Ewein	ap Owain	m. Ewein
	ap Gwledyr	ap Gwlydyr	
map Gloitguin	ferch Gletwin	verch Glewdwin	
map Nimet	ap Nyfedd		
map Dimet	ap Dofet	ap Dyueg	
map Maxim Gulecic			
map Protec			
map Protector			
map Ebiud	ap Ebynt	ap Ebynt	
map Eliud	ap Elynt	ap Elynt	
map Stater			
map Pincr misser			m. miser
	ap Amloyd	ap Amloed	
	ap Amweryd	ap Amwerid	
map Constans			
	ap Kwstennin	ap Kwstenin	m. Custennin
	ap Maxen	ap Maxgen	m. Maxen
	Wledig	Weledig	Wledic
			m. Maximianus
map Constantini			m. Constantinus
magni			Mawr
map Constantii et			m. Custenint o
Helen			Elen

Before calling your attention further to these pedigrees I should like, in passing, to make a remark on the symmetry, if I may so term it, of the Celtic conquests in early Ireland. First we have Meath with its central position, to which its name seems to testify: the Old Irish was Mide, which probably meant "middle". Then come Lagin or Leinster, on the southern side of it, and the Plain of Murthemne, or Louth, on the north. Next we have the forcible occupation of various territories towards the south by the Déisi; and these are matched on the northern side by the conquest of Oriel by the Three Collas and their followers. Lastly the movements in which the Déisi played a chief part led to the invasion of. the coasts of the Severn Sea; and this has its pendant in the Scottic people of the Fir-ulaid, crowded by the conquerors of Oriel into Ulidia, and crossing to Britain to join with the Picts against the Roman Province.

To return to the pedigrees, the differences between the various versions form, it will be seen, a considerable difficulty; but there are two or three fixed points. Thus Meredydd died in 796, and his son Owen in 811, as we know from the *Annales Cambriæ*. Then Guortepir was the Vortiporius who was king of Dyved when Gildas wrote his *Increpatio*. He describes Vortiporius as " pardo similis moribus, et nequitiis discolor, canescente jam capite"; from which Vortiporius would seem to have been then a middle-aged man.

Further, in the time of Triphun and his Sons, that is to say probably when Triphun himself was an old man, the birth of St. David took place, which the story of that saint's Life represents as dating thirty years after St. Patrick had undertaken his mission to Ireland. The phrase Triphun and his Sons, sounds like that of Cunedda and his Sons, and would seem to mark an era. We notice accordingly that from Triphun down the dynasty ceases to have, to such an extent, the very Irish names that it affected before. They become more Welsh, with an occasional Latin one, such as that of Triphun's own son, Aircol, whose name is but the Latin Agricola subjected to the rules of Brythonic phonology.

Beyond Triphun the Welsh versions of the pedigree differ greatly from the Irish one. Besides introducing Maximus, one of the Welsh versions seems to have too many Owains in that part of the genealogy, though it is quite a name to be expected as the equivalent of the Irish Eogan, which occurs borne by Eochaid's brother. Eochaid's own name is also duly translated into Welsh as Ebiud. Calculating, therefore, from him to Triphun, and taking a sort of average of the Irish and Welsh versions, I can discover no serious argument against accepting the conjectured date of the years 265-70 as that of the expulsion of the Déisi from Tara, and of the landing of Eochaid in Dyved.

It is needless to say that Eochaid's was not the last of those early settlements from Ireland in the lands bordering on the Severn Sea : they went on till the time of Gildas at least. Neither am I inclined to think that it was the first, though it falls, as you will observe, a little before the time when Carausius seized the reins of government in Britain. That took place, as you know, in the year 287, and this allusion to Britain will have suggested to you the question, how it is that Roman and Greek writers do not allude to these invasions from Ireland ? That question I would answer by questioning the fact of their *not* mentioning them. Why should not Carausius himself have been the leader of the Irish invaders of west Britain ? Let us see what is said of him. Well, he is called by Eumenius a " Menapiæ civis", which is otherwise expressed by Aurelius Victor as " Bataviæ alumnus", for you do not require to be told of the close connection between the Batavi and Menapii, living near the mouth of the Rhine; and he is also described as " vilissime natus", namely by Eutropius. We have, therefore, this fact to build upon : Carausius was a Menapian, and reckoned as of no illustrious descent.[1] But there were Menapii and Menapii. Turn to the pages of Ptolemy's Geography, and you will find that there was a Μαναπία Πόλις in Ireland, and just where we want it, namely somewhere in the county of Wicklow or Wexford. Ptolemy's figures fix it near his first rivermouth as you proceed northwards from Carnsore Point. So it ought to be Wexford or some site near Wexford Haven.

Then as to Carausius being of low origin, that need not have

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[1] Hardy's *Mon. Hist. Britannica*, pp. lxxi, lxxii; also Smith's Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, ii, 70-2.

meant anything more than that he belonged—which is very possible—to a family of the ancient non-Celtic race here. Let us next see where the name of Carausius survives. So far as I know, *not* in the Netherlands nor anywhere else on the Continent, but in North Wales. I allude to the Christian monument at Penmachno, in a retired valley tributary to the Conwy. It reads, in barbarous Latin, "Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum." Then we have a later form of the name preserved by Nennius, who speaks, in his list of the Wonders of Britain, of a Vorago Cereuus in the Menai Straits. This is known in modern Welsh as Pwll Cerys,[1] as in the following popular *englyn* current in the neighbourhood of the Menai :

> " Pwll Cerys, pwll dyrys drud—pwll yw hwn
>   Sy'n gofyn cyfarwyddyd ;
> Pwll anwfn yw, pwll ynfyd,
> Pella' o'i go' o'r pylla' i gyd."

> Pool of Kerys, bold intricate pool,
> A pool this for a pilot ;
> A pool of hell, a wanton pool,
> A pool the craziest of all pools.

Thus we have the forms *Cereuus* and *Cerys*, which is now pronounced *Ceris*, lineally descended from the classical form *Carausius*, and going back possibly to a time when the great admiral and his doings had already entered the domain of mythology. Be that as it may, it countenances, to a certain extent, our claim to Carausius as against that of the Continent, which may have so readily sprung from the natural mistake of taking the Menapian state to which he belonged, to have been the better known one in the Low Countries.

When this view of Carausius first occurred to me, I felt the difficulty, that, if it was to be accepted, I must identify Carausius in old Irish literature. Now there is no lack of names given as those of men who had made conquests outside Ireland, some of them being described as having carried their arms as far as the region of the Alps, such as Dathi, Niall, Cúrói mac Dairi, and others. Well, I could make nothing of Dathi, nor much of Niall either ; but Cúrói seemed more promising, especially as he is the subject of a Welsh poem in the thirteenth century manuscript of the Book of Taliessin. It is entitled " Mar6nat. Corroi. m . Dayry"; that is to say, " The Elegy or Death-wail of Cúrói, son of Daire." Now one cannot help asking at once why a Welsh bard was called upon to sing the praises of this Irish prince more than those of other Irishmen, unless he had something special to do with the bard's own country.

It is very unfortunate that this short poem is written in very

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[1] Since this address was given Mr. Phillimore has called my attention to a Polkerris, near Fowey in Cornwall and another in St. Keverne, likewise in the Duchy. Whether the river name Ceryst is of the same origin, I am unable to say. One river, so called, flows near Llanidloes, and another close to Dinas Mawddwy. Compare also *Cerist* or *Cerisg* as a man's name in the *Welsh Laws*, i, 342.

obscure Welsh. It consists of two stanzas of twelve lines each, and
it is apparently complete: at any rate we have the last lines of it,
since the bard concludes by touching on the felicity of the soul,
which after this life lands in a safe city; a sentiment with which
he seldom forgets to wind up, especially when he has just been
singing anything with a suspicion of paganism about it. The
opening lines recall the association of the famous admiral's name
with a part of the Menai Straits; for the author of the elegy treats
the sea as Corroi's wide well. He then proceeds to say how
he has been startled by Corroi's death-wail, or the *keening* for him.
Thereupon come two lines devoted, as I understand them, to the
enormity of the crime of the assassin by whose hand Corroi fell. A
reference follows to Corroi's early fame. The poet then closes the
stanza by repeating, subject to a slight alteration, three of the pre-
vious lines, and this brings him to join, as it were, in the *keening* for
Corroi, and to emphasise the crime to which he had fallen a victim.
The whole has the ring of allusiveness characteristic of old Welsh
poetry, and the first stanza runs as follows, so far as I can guess its
meaning :[1]—

> " *Duffynhaón lydan dylleinó aches.*
> *dydaó dy hebcyr dy bris dybrys.*
> *Marónat corroy am kyffroes.*
> *Oer deni gór garó y anóyteu.*
> *aoed voy y drwc nys maór gicleu.*
> *Mab dayry dalei lyó ar vor deheu.*
> *dathyl oed y glot kyn noe adneu.*
> *Dy ffynhaón lydan delleinó nonneu.*
> *Dydaó dy hebcyr dy brys dybreu.*
> *Marónat corroy genhyf inheu.*
> *Oer deni.*[2]"

> Thy broad fountain replenishes the world :
> It comes, it goes, it hurries to Dover.
> The death-wail of Corroi has startled me :
> Cold the deed of him of rugged passions,
> Whose crime was one which few have heard of.
> Dairë's son held a helm on the Southern Sea :
> Sung was his fame before his burial.
> Thy broad fountain replenishes Nonneu,
> It comes, it goes, it hurries to Dover ;
> But mine is the death-wail of Corroi.
> Cold the deed of him of rugged passions,
> Whose crime was one which few have heard of.

The next stanza is even more obscure, though it contains several
of the same lines, substantially the same lines at any rate. It
runs thus :—

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[1] The text here given is copied from Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, ii,
198, but with some slight corrections which I noted years ago when Mr.
Wynne kindly lent me the original manuscript.
[2] At first sight this looks like the usual catchword indicating the end of
the poem ; but here I take it to mean the repetition of lines 4 and 5.

" *Duffynhawn lydan dylleinó dy llyr.*
dy saeth dychyrch traeth diuóg dybyr.
Gór awerescyn m[a]ór y varanres.
Awedy mynaó mynet trefyd.
A...ant óy...ffra wynyonyd.
Tra uu uudug re bore dugraór.
chwedleu am góydir o wr hyt laór.
kyfranc corroi a chocholyn.
lliaós eu teruysc am eu teruyn.
Tardei pen amóern gwerin goaduóyn.
kaer yssy gulóyd ny góyd ny grin.
Góyn y vyt yr eneit ae harobryn."

Thy broad fountain fills the seas,
Thy arrow speeds for the ...... strand of Dover.
Subjugator, vast is thy battle-front.
And after Man it is to the towns
They go .... of Gwinionydd.[1]
Whilst victorious the space of ...... morning.
News am I told of men on the ground,
The adventure of Corroi and Cúchulainn
Of many a turmoil on their frontier,
Whilst the head of a gentle host ......
The noble Fort that falls not nor quakes—
Blessed is the soul that merits it.

Here we have a sort of reference to the conflicts mentioned in Irish literature between Cúchulainn and Cúrói ; but the most remarkable thing in the poem, perhaps, is the line, in perfectly intelligible Welsh,

"Mab dayry dalei ly6 ar vor deheu."

Dairë's son held a helm on the Southern Sea.

What sea is meant is another question ; but I should be inclined to say that it alludes to the English Channel. This is corroborated by Dybrys (read *Dybres*], Dybreu, Dybyr, which I have ventured to regard as forms of the name *Portus Dubris*, or Dover, French *Douvres;* and I am inclined to think that Nonneu in the line,

Thy broad fountain replenishes Nonneu,

means the English Channel, as I find what I take to be the same word, though written *noueu,* in another poem in the Book of Taliessin,[2] in a prophecy about the return of Cadwaladr from the Continent to rescue his race from the dominion of the Angles of Northumbria. There the poet has the phrase, *dydranoueu,* "from beyond Noueu"; that is, as I would suggest, from beyond the English Channel. Now if Corroi was Carausius, this association of him with the English Channel is at once intelligible ; not to mention the

[1] The name of a district in south Cardiganshire.
[2] Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales,* ii. 211.

evidence borne by existing inscriptions to the former presence of a
Gaelic-speaking people on the southern coast of Devon and Cornwall

Our Irish friends who are familiar with the name of Cúrói or
Cúrúi mac Dairi will have anticipated a difficulty. They would tell me,
doubtless, that Cúrói mac Dairi's fortress is Caher Conree, on the top
of a mountain called after it, and past the foot of which we shall be
going on our way from Tralee to Dingle; and that Irish tradition
does not represent its owner as a great sailor. They would also
allude to the tragic story of his death at the hands of Cúchulainn,
who was admitted on Halloween, through the treachery of Cúrói's
wife, Bláthnat, after she had by agreement poured the milk of
Cúrói's cows into the brook hurrying down the mountain. At the
foot of it the Ultonian enemy is represented waiting for the stream
to turn milky white. For that was the signal for ascending the
mountain, since they had apparently no mind to do so in vain.
This story explains, as it is supposed, the name of the brook,
which is Finnghlais, or the White Burn. We shall be crossing it
on the way to Dingle.

There is no Cúrói on the top of that mountain now, and I hope
that some of our party will have the courage to go up there, and
I will tell you why. It seems to me almost incredible that there
should ever have been a fortress on so high a mountain; and I am
not sure that Dr. O'Donovan did not think so too: at any rate he
states in a note to his edition of the Battle of Magh Rath, p. 212, that
"the feature called Caher Conree on this mountain is a natural ledge
of rocks". On the other hand I have been assured by a member of
the Royal Irish Society, so ably represented here this evening, that
there are ample remains of a fortification there.[1] I for one should
be glad to know whether these statements do not refer to somewhat
different features of the mountain, and what the real state of things
is in regard to it and the memory of its legendary owner.

This is all by the way, and I hope we may find it so; but I
was going to remark that the mountain and the supposed forti-
fications on it are called not Caher Conroi, but Caher Conree.
For my own countrymen I ought to explain that con is the geni-
tive of cú, "hound or dog", the name being in the nominative
Cú Rói, genitive Con Rói, while the other name was Cú Rí, geni-
tive Con Rí. I said the "other" name, for Cú Rí is not to be
equated with Cú Rói. In fact, this is a case of two utterly distinct
names having been hopelessly confounded. We know, however,
which was which, for in a field near the foot of the Caher Conree
Mountain lies a low cromlech, which we hope to visit. It has the
name on it of a man called Cú Rí in its early genitive form of Conu
Ri. So the western hero was Cú Rí, and his liegemen were called

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[1] At the end of this address, statements to the same effect were made to
me by some of the Irish antiquaries present at the Meeting. It would,
however, be to the credit of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland if
they were to publish a detailed survey of the top of the mountain in their
Journal, that is if it has not been done already.

Clanna Dedaid maic Sin. On the other hand we want the fortress of Cúrói in the east or south-east of the island; and an ancient epic story called the Feast of Bricriu, in the Book of the Dun Cow written before the end of the year 1106, makes it impossible to believe it to have been situated anywhere in Kerry. That story relates how the rivalry of the three Ultonian heroes, Cúchulainn, Conall Cernach, and Loegaire Buadach, gave trouble to the court of King Conchobar mac Nessa, and how they were sent to one giant or hero after another to have their relative positions settled. Among others they were recommended to Cúrói mac Dairi to see if he could decide which of the three was entitled to the champion's morsel at the feasts of the Ultonians.

Now Cúrói is described in the story[1] as a great magician who, when he was unable to be at home at night, uttered a charm over his fortress with the effect of making it turn, as it were on a pivot, faster than any millstone, so that nobody could approach the gates after sunset; but he seems to have allowed rest to the foundations of his city when the three Ultonian rivals arrived. For he knew that they were coming, and he remained purposely away; but gave orders to his wife to direct them to guard the city each for a night, according to the order of their seniority. On the night of Cúchulainn's watching it had been discovered by Cúrói that his fortress was to be attacked by various enemies bearing very mythic names; but among them one finds a triad called the Three Buagelltaig of Breg, which would seem to indicate that Cúrói's Cathair was much nearer Mag Breg than was Caher Conree in the Dingle Peninsula.

The three champions of the Ultonians appear to reach the abode of Cúrói in the course of a day's drive in their chariots, and they are said to set out from Emain Macha, the remains of which are, I understand, now known as the Navan Fort, near Armagh; and in the case of their return to Emain, they are distinctly said to reach it before the end of the day. However, their headquarters can hardly have been so far north, as Emain cannot well have been in Celtic territory till after the conquest of Oriel by the Three Collas. On the other hand, the hero's speed in the story must be supposed exaggerated. But in any case Cúrói's city is treated as being near the sea, and as having close by a loch, out of which a great beast rises to devour it with all its inhabitants. That catastrophe, however, is prevented by Cúchulainn's killing the dragon.

We have probably to look for the spot somewhere in the county of Wicklow or of Wexford. Wherever it was, Cúrói was used to travel eastwards from it; for the same story says that when Cúchulainn and his two rivals came, he had gone eastward to the lands of the Scythians, because, as it proceeds to tell us, he never reddened his sword in Erinn from the day he took arms to that of his death. Neither did any food produced in Erinn enter his mouth from the

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[1] See Windish's *Ir. Texte,* especially pp. 294-301.

time when he was seven years of age. For his pride, we are told, and his comeliness, his chieftainship and greatness, his strength and prowess, found not room within Erinn. His wife, however, was there at his will, ready with a bath and washing for him, with intoxicating drinks for him and with sumptuous bedclothes. Such is the account which the epic story gives of him, and he is evidently our man. That is to say, Cúrói was Carausius, and the Taliessin poet has mixed the Irish story of Cúrói's death with that of Carausius.

This attempted identification is clenched by the fact that it can scarcely be an accident that the two names, Cúrói and Carausius, admit, according to the rules of Irish phonology, of being also regarded as forms of one and the same name. The *a* in the unaccented syllable of Carausius has taken the place of an *o* or *u*, as in *Kanovio* instead of *Conovio* on a milestone bearing the distance of eight miles from Conovium, a name which in its connection with the river is Conwy still in Welsh, with an *o*. On the other hand, the Rói of Cú-Rói is quite a regular representative of an early Goidelic form, *Rausi, Ravesi*, or the like. The name, I need not say, means the Hound of Rói, whosoever or whatsoever Rói was.

A great deal might be said on this dog-nomenclature in Irish ; but I have already taken up too much of your time, so I will only express my surmise that Cúrói or Carausius was possibly associated with the people called on their ancient monuments Maqui Decceti. These have been found widely scattered about the south of Ireland. You will visit one at Ballintaggart, near Dingle; and one you will see to-morrow near here, in the Cave of Dunloe ; but the nearest to the country which I have attempted to identify with Cúrói belongs to Killeen Cormac in the county of Kildare.

The Maqui Decceti are possibly to be identified with a people of later times called Ui Deaghaidh, located in the Barony of Gorey[1] in the northern portion of the county of Wexford. In the sister island you will find their monuments in the middle of Devon and in Anglesey. They possibly also gave its name to the old acropolis on the Llandudno peninsula, known in Welsh as Deganwy, and in the Latinity of the *Annales Cambriæ* as *Decantorum Arx*.

But perhaps the latest piece of evidence is that supplied us by *Lleyn*, the name of the western part of Carnarvonshire; for though *Lleyn* is now pronounced as a monosyllable, it was formerly a dissyllable, *Llëyn*, which points to its being the exact equivalent of the Irish *Lagin*, "spears, Lagenians". Nay, I may say more: the fine natural harbour in Lleyn, which ought to have been used, instead of Holyhead, for the communication with Ireland, is *Porth Din Llaen*,[2] or the Haven of *Din Llaen.* Here we have *Llaen*

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[1] See the *Four Masters*, A.D. 903, O'Donovan's note (ii, p. 569).

[2] The old name is *Din Llaen*, with *Porth* (now mostly superseded in this instance by the English *Port*) prefixed; but the map-makers insist on using their superior knowledge to improve it into Porth Dinlleyn, Porth yn Lleyn, Port in Lleyn, or similar inventions of the charlatans.

to be equated with Irish *Lagen ;* but *Lagen* is the genitive plural corresponding to the nominative plural *Lagin,* in Welsh *Lleyn.* Thus Din Llaen is a mere transforming into Welsh of an Irish *Dún Lagen,* "the Fort of the Lagenians". The remains of the fortification are there still to be seen in the form of a deep cutting drawn across the narrow neck of the peninsula, which half encloses the harbour: the post admitted of being readily defended against an attack from the land side.

The scattered testimony to the connection between the south of Ireland and Wales is too large a subject for me to enter upon at present in detail; and I must leave untouched also the question of the probable attitude of the Romans towards the invaders from the west. Suffice it to say that though Carausius was assassinated, and his assassin conquered by the Romans, it does not seem to have made much difference with regard to the settlers from Ireland. They probably held their ground in their respective territories, as against the conquered inhabitants : at any rate it is a remarkable fact that when, towards the end of the Roman occupation, the *Notitia Dignitatum* was drawn up, everything must have been quiet among them, as there was not a single Roman soldier stationed anywhere in the west of southern Britain. They were all on or near the Roman Wall, or else in the south-east of the island, to defend it against the Saxons and their allies. The bulk of the western invaders probably came from Munster. It was a Munster or Momonian empire, and traces of it lasted possibly to the time of Edwin of Northumbria: at any rate this is my explanation of Bede's calling Anglesey and the Isle of Man *Mevanias Brettonum Insulas.* We have only to substitute *o* for the *e* of *Mevani-as,* and we get the probable pronunciation of the Irish adjective meaning "Momonian", or " belonging to Munster", in Old Irish *Muma,* genitive *Muman.* The connection of Man with Wales early in the post-Roman period is otherwise attested, namely by the inscription[1] found in Man bearing the Latin name Avitus in the lettering usual in the Romano-British epigraphy of Wales and Cornwall.

Thus, whether the conquerors from the south of Ireland, from the time of Carausius[2] to that of St. Patrick and Gildas, were Celts or not Celts, they became in a measure the ancestors of the mixed peoples of Wales and Dumnonia. Thus, in accepting the generous invitation of our Irish friends to come here to Kerry, we were but going to visit the land of our ancestors, a land which is, I may add, dear to me in many other ways. *Érinn go bráth !*

[1] See Hübner's *Inscr. Brit. Christ.,* No. 164 ; and for an improved reading see the *Arch. Camb.* for 1891, p. 41.

[2] I had almost forgotten that there have been more than one Carausius ruling in Britain : see the *Arch. Camb.* for 1888, pp. 138-163 (also p. 274), where a paper by Mr. Arthur Evans has been published " On a Coin of a Second Carausius, Cæsar in Britain in the Fifth Century."

GENERAL ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

The Annual Meeting for the election of officers, the reading of the Annual Report of the Association, and the selection of the place of meeting for the ensuing year, was held at Benner's Royal Hotel, Limerick, on Saturday, August 15th, at 8 P.M.

Llandeilo Fawr was chosen as the place of meeting for 1892.

The Report is as follows :—

REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1891.

Since our Meeting at Holywell, death has removed from our list of members not only one of our Patrons, the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis, President of our Association at its meeting at Welshpool in 1856, but also our Treasurer, Mr. R. W. Banks, who has discharged the duties of that office with great advantage to the Association, and for many years has contributed to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* papers of great value. Into his place it is necessary on the present occasion to appoint a successor, and your Committee recommend for that office J. Lloyd Griffith, Esq., M.A., Holyhead.

Your Committee have also to record the deaths of—

> J. A. Corbett, Esq., the Society's representative on the Llantrissant Town Trust.
> The Rev. Canon M. H. Lee, Local Sec. for Flintshire, and a member of your Committee.
> The Rev. L. T. Rowland, Local Sec. for Cardiganshire.
> J. Joseph, Esq., F.S.A., Treasurer of the Association from 1860-75.
> The Rev. S. S. Lewis, Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge.
> R. W. Griffith, Esq., Llandaff.
> F. R. Southern, Esq., Ludlow.
> R. Roberts, Esq., Tuhwnt i'r bwlch, Carnarvonshire.
> The Rev. Canon T. B. Ll. Browne, Bodfari Rectory.
> W. H. Gladstone, Esq., Hawarden House, Chester.

Your Committee recommend that the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the Rev. A. H. Sayce, LL.D., and Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A., be elected Vice-Presidents.

The retiring members of the Committee are the Rev. Hugh Prichard, William Trevor Parkins, Esq., and Ernest Hartland, Esq. ; and your Committee recommend the re-election of these gentlemen, and that the Rev. Ll. Thomas be elected in the place of the late Canon Lee.

Your Committee also recommend the following appointments of Local Secretaries to be made in the respective counties to fill vacancies caused by death and retirement :—

Flintshire : The Rev. W. Ll. Nicholas, M.A., Flint Rectory,
vice the Rev. Canon Lee.

Carnarvonshire : D. Griffith Davies, Esq., Bangor; the Rev.
Morgan Jones, Bangor. ,

Merionethshire : The Rev. D. Morgan, Penrhyn Deudraeth
Vicarage.

The following names are submitted for election and confirmation :

ENGLAND, ETC.

William McLellan, Esq., Wigan.
The Rev. Joseph Jones, Wigan.
D. C. Lloyd-Owen, Esq., Claremont, Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston.
A. W. Moore, Esq., Douglas, Isle of Man.
Melbourne Public Library.

NORTH WALES.

The Rev. Henry Parry, Llanfairisgaer, Bangor.
Hugh Lewis, Esq., Mount Severn, Llanidloes.
R. J. Jones, Esq., Mona View, Llanfairfechan.
James Darlington, Esq., Black Park, Chirk.
A. Foulkes Roberts, Esq., Vale Street, Denbigh.

SOUTH WALES.

William Williams, Esq., Talbot House, Brecon.
Col. W. Gwynne Hughes, Glencothy, Carmarthenshire.
The Rev. T. H. Lloyd, Talley Vicarage.
T. H. Thomas, Esq., 45, The Walk, Cardiff.
C. H. Glascodine, Esq., Cae Parc, Swansea.
Herbert Allen, Esq., Norton, Tenby.
J. Bancroft, Esq., Tenby.

THE MARCHES.

H. Taylor, Esq., F.S.A., Chester.

The *Archæologia Cambrensis* has now reached the eighth volume
of the 5th Series, or the forty-sixth volume since its commencement
in 1846, and still continues successfully to carry out the object for
which it was founded, namely, the promotion of the study of the
history and antiquities of Wales. The bulk of the volume consists
of papers out of which it would perhaps be invidious to single out
any special one for praise at the expense of the others ; but it will
be found that they deal with a wide range of subjects, and that
some of the articles are exceptionally valuable contributions to
archæological science. Relating to the prehistoric period is Mr.
J. P. Earwaker's interesting account of a series of bronze-age
burials discovered at Penmaenmawr. The Roman period is repre-

sented by Mr. G. W. Shrubsole's attempt to trace the Roman road from Deva to Varis; an animated correspondence between Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Mr. Edward Owen about the pig of lead in the Chester Museum; and ‚a note by Prof. Westwood on the Roman stones of the tyrant Pianonius Victorinus. Ogam and debased Latin inscriptions of the early Welsh period are treated of by Prof. Rhys, Prof. G. F. Browne, and others. To mediæval times belong Sir George Duckett's history of the Barri family of Manorbeer in Pembrokeshire; Mr. Edward Owen's "Caerwys"; and Mr. Henry Taylor's "First Charters granted to the four senior Boroughs of Wales".

Amongst the recent literary works by members of the Association sent for review must be mentioned Prof. Rhys' *Studies in Arthurian Legend*, and Mr. E. Sidney Hartland's *Science of Fairy Tales* and *English Folk and Fairy Tales*.

The Archæological Notes and Queries have fallen off considerably in number and value. We must appeal to members, and more especially the Local Secretaries, to contribute more frequently to this part of the Journal notices of new discoveries, newspaper cuttings, and other suitable matter.

The Report of the Annual Meeting now occupies a good deal of space in the Journal; but it is desirable that the places visited should be described as fully as possible, so that these reports will in time form a useful archæological guide to most parts of Wales. In compiling the Holywell Report, the Editors have to acknowledge the valuable assistance received from Mr. Henry Taylor and Sir Henry Dryden.

The effect of holding the Annual Meeting on two occasions outside the limits of the Principality has been to deprive us of the papers which are usually read at the evening meetings. There has, however, been a certain amount of compensation in the opening up of fresh sources of information, and in bringing the Editors in contact with correspondents abroad.

The Association has sustained a severe loss by the lamented death of the late Mr. R. W. Banks, a loss that will be deeply felt by all his personal friends amongst the members, but by none more sincerely than the Editors. Mr. Banks has been a regular contributor to the Journal for many years. His communications were chiefly on the subject of monastic history, municipal records, and mediæval tenures;[1] the last being a paper in the July Number of the present year, on "Lingebrook Priory". The help he gave in keeping up the standard of the Journal, however, went a good deal further than this. He appeared to have the interest of the Association at heart at all times and in all places, being continually on the look-out for fresh facts that might elucidate the history of Wales and persons who would be willing to assist in furthering the aims of the body of which he was so distinguished a

[1] See list appended to Mr. Banks' obituary in *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. viii, p. 298.

member. Mr. Banks' constant correspondence with the Editors and other officers of the Association has been a very powerful factor in keeping the Society together. He was also extremely generous in subscribing towards funds for the illustration of the Journal, or for any other object, such as the exploration of Strata Florida Abbey, or the publication of Lord Beaufort's *Progress through Wales.*

The illustrations of the present volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* are fewer in number and of less merit than in some previous years, but less money has been spent in their production. The new photographic processes are gradually taking the place of woodcuts. The process-blocks have the advantage of being cheaper than wood-blocks, although the results are often uncertain, and not so satisfactory.

The Editors recommend that some provision be made for storing the wood-blocks belonging to the Association in shallow drawers, so that they may be more safely kept, and be more easily accessible than they are at present. Mr. Le Keux of Durham should also be requested to transfer the plates belonging to the Association to Mr. Clark's office at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Index to the first four Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* is being printed, and will, it is hoped, be issued to subscribers shortly after Christmas.

(*To be continued.*)

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

Discovery of an Inscribed Stone at St. David's.—The interesting memorial, here illustrated, of the interment of two sons of a Bishop of St. David's of the eleventh century, was recently discovered by Mr. Morgan, the leading mason of the works, during operations connected with the restoration of the two arches of entrance into the Lady Chapel. It had been employed as rubble to raise the wall preparatory to the erection by Bishop Vaughan (1509-23) of the vaulted roof of the cross-aisle or ante-chapel, some 5 ft. 6 in. above the corbels which supported the timbers of the original roof.

The stone is a slab of grey slate, rather more than 3½ in. thick, measuring 7 in. from the centre of the cross to the unmutilated edge ; thus giving 14 in. as its original width. Its original length probably exceeded 3 ft. ; the present length is 2 ft. 7 in.

The sculpture is very well executed, the material having probably been softer when fresh from the quarry than at present. The obverse side bears in relief a cross similar in shape to that which surmounts the enriched cross on the other side.

Bishop Abraham succeeded to the see in 1076, on its abdication by Sulien, who resumed it two years later, on Abraham's death.[1] (Jones and Freeman's *History*, p. 268.)

<div align="right">The Dean of St. David's.</div>

Inscribed Stone at St. David's.—The fortunate discovery—made on taking down some of the rubble of the western gable of the Lady Chapel of St. David's Cathedral, in order to insert a relieving arch above the twin arches of the entrance, now under repair—of the sepulchral stone of the two sons of Bishop Abraham of that see from 1076 to 1078, has added another very interesting relic to the series of sepulchral memorials which have already been found and preserved in the venerable structure which is so greatly indebted to the worthy Dean, to whose untiring exertions this discovery forms an excellent climax. Although the recently-discovered stone has had the whole length of its right side broken away, and also the base of the cross, the whole of the inscriptions and of the ornamental carving of the left side are entire ; the latter being of an elegant character and carefully executed, representing a Maltese cross with equal arms, dilated at the ends into triangular knots, within a circle surmounted with a Latin cross, on either side of which are inscribed the letters Alpha and Omega, which so often accompany the monogram of the Saviour, ihs and xps, whilst the upper left-hand portion of the stone bears the monumental inscription—

[1] 1078. "Menevia a gentilibus vastata est"; and from MS. C, "et Abraham a gentilibus occiditur. Sulgenus iterum episcopatum accepit." (*Annales Cambriæ.*)
1076. "And then Sulien resigned his bishopric, and it was assumed by Abraham."
1078. "And Menevia was miserably devastated by the Pagans ; and Abraham, Bishop of Menevia, died, and Sulien took the bishopric the second time, against his inclination." (*Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls Edition.)
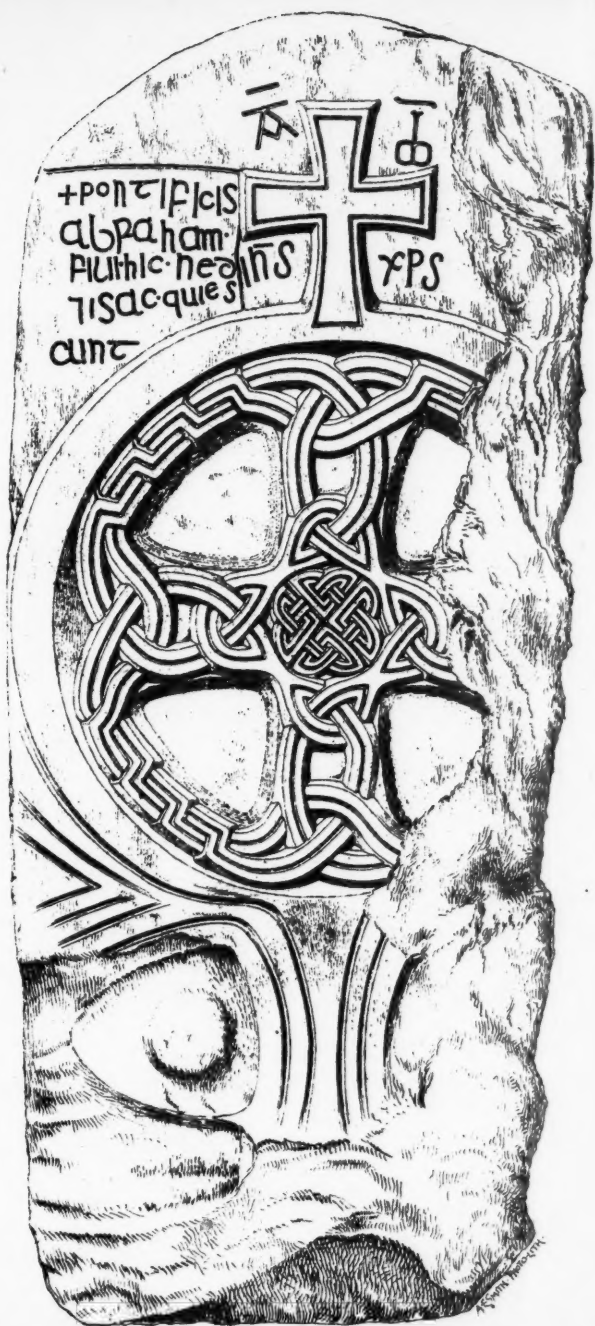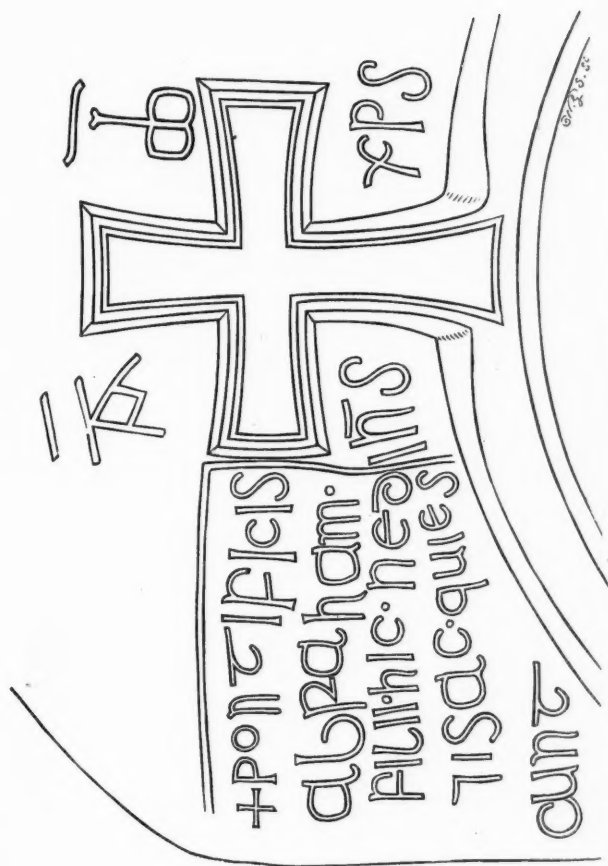
INSCRIBED CROSS-SLAB AT ST DAVIDS CATHEDRAL.
Scale ¼ full Size.

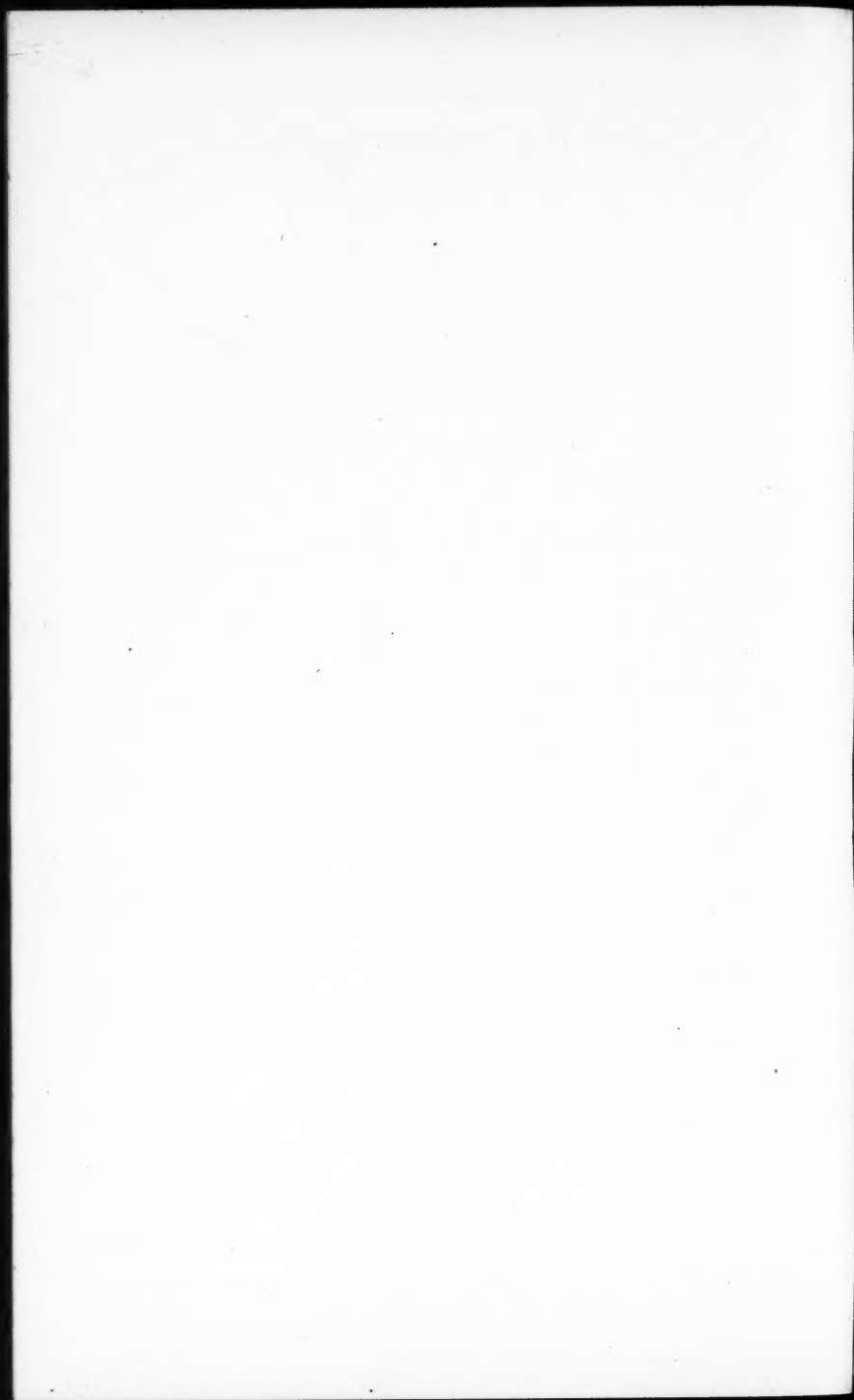INSCRIPTION ON CROSS-SLAB AT ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.
Scale ½ full size.

+ Pontificis .
abraham .
filii . hic . hed .
7 isac . quies-
-cunt.

(Here lie at rest Hed and Isac, the sons of bishop Abraham.)

With the exception of the monogram of the name of the Deity, the letters of this inscription are all minuscules, very irregular in size, and carelessly formed, the a's having the second stroke nearly straight, with the bottom slightly curved upwards, and the main stroke large and swollen; the b very oblated ; the c of the simple form; the d circular, with the second stroke formed into curve turned over to the left; the f with the top stroke deflected to right, and nearly meeting the second transverse stroke; the h, i, l, m, n, o, p, q, s, t, and u of the ordinary minuscule forms ; and the r like a capital R, with the first straight stroke extending considerably below the line, and the lower portion of the second stroke extended in a straight line directed to the right. The t in the top line is peculiar, being evidently intended for a minuscule t of the usual form, the lower part forming an imperfect circle. The first letter above the arms of the cross is a capital A, with a nearly straight line resting on the top of the letter, and the middle cross-bar strongly angulated, as in early MSS. The Omega is quite unusual, its form being of the ω type, but nearly square, with the middle stroke extended upwards, with a short transverse terminal stroke, above which is a longer curved line indicating the contraction of the name.

The ornamental details are very interesting; the general form of the bars forming the circular cross are seen in the three Pen Arthur stones (*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 60), the curious step-pattern in figures 1 and 3, whilst the pretty central device of the four interlaced hearts is exactly copied in figure 3 of the same plate. It will be moreover noticed that the not unusual form of the conjunction " et" in the shape of the figure 7, often found in Anglo-Saxon MSS., occurs both in this new inscription and also in the "Gurmarc" stone from Pen Arthur, now in St. David's Cathedral (*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 60, fig. 2), corrected by the discovery of the top left-hand corner of the stone as represented in *Arch. Cambrensis*, July 1889 (5th Series, No. 23, p. 252), which shows the Alpha and Omega, the former of rare occurrence, as in the newly-found stone, followed by " 7" and ω, and the ihs and χρs.

All these identifications clearly prove that the stones referred to must have been carved by the same artist and at the same time.[1] Further similarities occur in portions of the ornamental carving on the fragments of the crossed stone in the Chancellor's garden at St. David's (*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 65, figs. 1, 2). The two other stones

[1] The Dean of St. David's writes to say that he does not agree with this theory.

from St. David's, figured in *Lap. Wall.* pl. 61, fig. 6, and pl. 63,
fig. 4, are evidently by other artists.   I. O. WESTWOOD.

HANMER TILES.—The specimens of encaustic tiles discovered at
Hanmer, here illustrated from tracings kindly supplied by the Hon.
Mrs. Bulkeley Owen, very much resemble, in their general character
and appearance, some ancient tiles found during the restoration of
Bangor Cathedral, of which I have a photograph from a drawing
sent me by one of our members, Mr. D. Griffith Davies of Bangor.

The Hanmer tiles Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are in each case one of
a set of nine, which together complete the full pattern. Nos. 1
and 2 belong to the same set, so that the entire design, except the
centre tile, can be reproduced. Nos. 3 and 4 only show a portion
of the ornament, and it would be difficult to say what is required
to complete the pattern ; No. 3 would no doubt be repeated at each
angle. Nos. 5 and 6 are new patterns to me, but are of the usual
type of fourteenth-century incised and encaustic tiles.

Among the Bangor specimens are three sets of nine tiles with
a circumscribing band of conventional ornament enclosing quaint
and ill-drawn figures of animals, but it is difficult to make out the
species to which they belong ; in one case it is clearly a hare or
rabbit that is sought to be represented, and, if the former animal,
it may have some reference to the story of St. Monacella.

The Hanmer examples Nos. 3 and 4 present the same difficulty ;
No. 4 may be intended for a bull, and possibly representing the
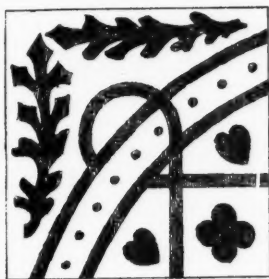zodiacal sign *Taurus*, and No. 3 *Sagittarius*.

The representation of the signs of the zodiac was very common
in the Middle Ages, and they are found in illuminated manu-
scripts, early printed books, Clog almanacks, in carved wood and
stone work, as well as on incised and encaustic tiles ; the other
ornament, upon both these specimens, is simply conventional, and
the same remark applies to the remaining tiles, except the "*fetter-
lock*" which appears on No. 2, and that may be an heraldic device.
The "*fetterlock*" (a shackle and padlock) was borne by Edmond
(" of Langley"), first Duke of York, and also by the latter's great-
grandson, Edward IV, but conjoined with a falcon.

Nos. 5 and 6 are so similar in character and design to the Strata
Florida tiles that we may pretty safely say that they are of four-
teenth-century date, and probably of Shropshire manufacture; and
if, as I assume is the case, that all the Hanmer specimens were
found together, we may conclude that they are of the same period
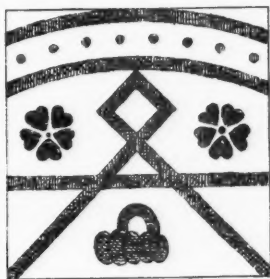and from the same manufactory.

It is very interesting to have published from time to time in the
pages of the *Arch. Camb.* examples of these ancient tiles, and it
would be well if others would follow the example of the Hon. Mrs.
Bulkeley Owen, and contribute drawings of any fragments of
ancient pavements found, as they frequently are, in the restoration
of our parish churches.

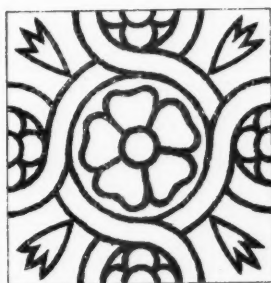   STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, F.R.I.B.A.
Rhayader, Nov. 16, 1891.

TILES FROM HANMER, FLINTSHIRE.